Serfojee Rajah
1730
2

THE HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE,

AND A VIEW OF

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE

RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

IN A

SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJAH SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

A NEW EDITION, carefully corrected.

VOL. IV.

LONDON,
Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Paternoster row; and
A. HAMILTON, jun. Falcon-court, Fleet-street. 1789.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL
1730

A

CHRONOLOGICAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

FOURTH VOLUME

OF THE

History of Modern Europe.

PART II.

From the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648, to the PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

LETTER XII.

General View of the Affairs of Europe, with a particular Account of those of England, from the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, *to the Triple Alliance, in* 1668.

A.D.		Page
1660	INTRODUCTORY reflections -	1
	Great popularity of Charles II. of England at his restoration, and eminent political situation among the powers of Europe - - -	2
	His libertine and accommodating character -	3
	He forms his privy council from among all parties and sects	4
	His prudent choice of his principal servants . -	ibid.
	The Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor and Prime Minister	ibid.
	General act of indemnity - -	5
	Trial and execution of the regicides -	ibid.
	State of the church - -	6
	Dissolution of the Convention Parliament -	ibid.
1661	New Parliament favourable to episcopacy and monarchical power - - - -	7
	Act of Uniformity - - -	ibid.
	Repeal of the Act for Triennial Parliaments -	ibid.

 Rigour

CONTENTS.

A.D.		Page
1661	Rigour of the High-church party	8
1662	Presbyterian clergy ejected	ibid.
	This impolitic measure unites the Protestant Dissenters in a common hatred of the church	ibid.
	The King and his brother the Duke of York, being secretly Catholics, form the plan of a general toleration	9
	Declaration to that purpose	ibid.
	The plan of toleration opposed by the Parliament, and laid aside	10
	Presbyterians persecuted in Scotland	ibid.
	King's marriage	11
	Sale of Dunkirk	ibid.
1664	War with the United Provinces	12
	State of the affairs of that republic	13
	Character of the pensionary De Wit	ibid.
	Great naval preparations of England and Holland	14
1665	Dutch defeated by the English fleet under the Duke of York	15
	Plague rages in London	16
	France and Denmark league with the United Provinces against England	ibid.
1666	Memorable sea fight of four days	17
	After various turns of fortune, the Dutch fleet, under de Ruyter and young Tromp, forced to retreat by the English, commanded by Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle	19
	The Hollanders insulted in their harbours	20
	Fire of London	21
	State of religion in Scotland	22
	Insurrection of the Presbyterians	23
	Battle of Pentland Hills	24
	The rebels routed, and the Presbyterian prisoners treated with severity	ibid.
	State of Ireland	25
1667	Act of the English parliament prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle	26
	That law ultimately beneficial to Ireland	27
	Negociations at Breda	ibid.
	The Dutch fleet under de Ruyter, takes possession of the mouth of the Thames	28
	Burning of the ships at Chatham	ibid.
	Consternation of the city of London	29
	Peace of Breda	ibid.
	Impeachment and banishment of the Earl of Clarendon	30
	His character	31
	Retrospective view of the state of France and Spain	ibid.
	Character of Lewis XIV.	32
	His munificence, splendor, and popularity	ibid.
	Dangerous greatness of the French monarchy	ibid.

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page
1667 Examples of the arrogance of Lewis XIV. - 33
He refuses to pay to England the honours of the flag ibid.
His claims upon the Spanish monarchy - 34
Feeble administration of Mary Anne of Austria, Queen Regent of Spain - - - ibid.
The King of France invades the Spanish Netherlands, and makes himself master of many places - 35
All Europe filled with terror at the rapid progress of his arms ibid.
1668 *Triple Alliance* the consequence of that terror - 36
France and Spain equally displeased at the terms of this league 37
Treaty of Aix-la Chapelle - - 38
Independency of Portugal acknowledged - ibid.

LETTER XIII.

The general View of the Affairs of Europe continued, from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668, *to the Peace of Nimeguen, in* 1678.

Preamble - - - - 40
Retrospective view of the affairs of Hungary - 41
The Hungarian nobles revolt, and crave the assistance of the Turks - - - ibid.
1669 The Turks make themselves masters of the island of Candia 42
Lewis XIV. meditates the conquest of the United Provinces ib.
Charles II. of England gives up his mind to arbitrary councils 43
Concludes a *secret Treaty* with France - 44
1670 Mock Treaty intended to conceal the real one - 45
Death of the Duchess of Orleans - - ibid.
Rise of the Duchess of Portsmouth - 46
The French monarch makes himself master of Lorrain 47
The King of England obtains a large supply from his Parliament - - - ibid.
1671 Still necessitous, he shuts the Exchequer - 48
The Duke of York declares himself a Catholic - ibid.
Charles II. exercises several acts of arbitrary power 49
1672 Attempt upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet - ibid.
France and England declare war against Holland 50
Great preparations both by sea and land - 51
Defenceless state of the United Provinces - ibid.
Account of William III. Prince of Orange - 52
He is appointed commander in chief of the forces of the republic - - - 53

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1672 De Wit and de Ruyter with ninety-one Dutch ships of war, give battle to the combined fleets of France and England, commanded by D'Estrees and the Duke of York [May 29.] 54

Desperate valour of the Earl of Sandwich - ibid.

Furious combat between de Ruyter and the Duke of York 55

The Dutch admiral ultimately compelled to seek safety in flight ibid.

Lewis XIV. enters the United Provinces at the head of a great army, and advances to the banks of the Rhine - 56

Famous passage of that river [June 12.] - 57

Rapid progress of the French arms - 58

Distracted state of the United Provinces - 59

The sluices opened, and the country laid under water ibid.

The Prince of Orange declared Stadtholder [July 5.] 60

Massacre of the de Wits - - ibid.

Magnanimous behaviour of the Prince of Orange 61

Heroic resolution of the Dutch - - 62

The Kings of France and England endeavour to corrupt the young Stadtholder - - - ibid.

He rejects all their tempting offers - 63

Circumstances that contributed to save the republic of Holland ibid.

1673 Meeting of the English Parliament - 64

The King's declaration of liberty of conscience ibid.

He finds himself under the necessity of recalling it 65

The *Test Act* - - - ibid.

Three indecisive engagements between the Dutch fleet, conducted by De Ruyter and Van Tromp, and the combined fleets of France and England - 66

Sprague, the English rear-admiral, drowned in attempting to shift his flag - - - ibid.

The Dutch obliged to retreat, in the third engagement, by the valour of Prince Rupert and the Earl of Ossory 67

The French had little share in the action - ibid.

Lewis XIV. obliged to abandon his conquests in the United Provinces - - ibid.

The Emperor and the King of Spain sign an alliance with the States General - - 68

1674 Peace between England and Holland - 69

Charles II. offers his mediation to the contending powers 70

Sir William Temple appointed ambassador from England to the States - - - ibid.

His conference with the King before his departure 71

He combats the arbitrary principles of Charles ibid.

The King seems to be convinced by his arguments 72

He

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page
1674 He finds the States and their allies eager for the profecution of the war - - - 72
Vigorous exertions of Lewis XIV. - 73
He enters Franche Comté, and fubdues the whole province ib.
Bloody, but indecifive battle of Seneffe, in which the Prince of Orange greatly diftinguifhes himfelf - 74
He takes Grave, the laft town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces - - ibid.
Rapid progrefs of Turenne - - 75
His cruelties in the Palatinate - - ibid.
1675 The Prince of Condé able to gain no advantage over the Prince of Orange in Flanders - - 76
Mafterly movements of Montecuculi and Turenne, on the fide of Germany - - - ibid.
Turenne killed by a cannon-ball - 77
The French retreat before Montecuculi - ibid.
Treves taken by the confederates - - 78
Misfortunes of the King Sweden, who had been induced to take part with France - - ibid.
1676 The King of England concludes a new *fecret Treaty* with Lewis XIV. - - 79
He becomes a penfioner of France - ibid.
The Prince of Orange obliged to raife the fiege of Maeftricht 80
The Imperialifts take Philipfburg - ibid.
Lewis XIV. grows formidable by fea - ibid.
The French fleet defeats the Spaniards and Dutch off Palermo, in Sicily - - 81
Death of De Ruyter - - ibid.
Congrefs at Nimeguen - - ibid.
1677 Great fuccefs of the French arms - 82
Valenciennes taken by affault - - 83
The Prince of Orange defeated at Mont Caffel, and Cambray and St. Omers reduced - - ibid.
The Englifh Commons folicit the King to enter into a league, *offenfive* and *defenfive*, with the States General of the United Provinces - - - 84
Charles, conformable to his fecret engagements with France, prorogues the parliament, in order to evade their requeft ibid.
His prodigality and difingenuoufnefs - 85
Diftracted and declining ftate of Spain - ibid.
Her misfortunes increafe on every fide, in Flanders, Sicily, and Catalonia - - - 86
The Duke of Luxemburg obliges the Prince of Orange to raife the fiege of Charleroy - - ibid.
Marefchal Crequi defeats the views of the Duke of Lorrain, and makes himfelf mafter of Fryburg - 87

A.D. Page
1677 Exhausted state of France, in consequence of her great naval and military efforts - - 87
Charles II. of England encourages proposals of marriage from William III. prince of Orange to the Lady Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York - - 88
William comes over to England - - ibid.
His prudent backwardness - - ibid.
His marriage - - - 89
Plan of a general pacification - - ibid.
1678 Farther progress of the French arms - 90
Intrigues of Lewis XIV. in England and in Holland ibid.
Venality of Charles II. and of his parliament 91
Van Beverning, the Dutch ambassador, signs at Nimeguen a separate treaty with France - 92
All the other powers obliged to accept the conditions dictated by Lewis XIV. - - - ibid.
Stipulations in the treaty of Nimeguen - ibid.
Ineffectual attempts to render it void - 93
Vast power of the French monarch - ibid.

LETTER XIV.

England, from the Popish Plot, in 1678, to the Death of Charles II. with a retrospective View of the Affairs of Scotland.

Great terror of popery and arbitrary power in England 94
Retrospective view of the affairs of Scotland - ibid.
1668 Various measures tried, in order to bring the people over to episcopacy - - 95
Their horror against that mode of worship remains ibid.
Wild enthusiasm of the Presbyterian teachers - 96
1669 Despotic administration of the Earl of Lauderdale ibid.
He renders the King's authority absolute in Scotland ibid.
1670 Severe law against conventicles - - 97
They continue to be frequented - - ibid.
Landlords required to engage for the conformity of their tenants - - - ibid.
1678 Eight thousand Highlanders quartered on the gentlemen of the western counties, for refusing to sign bonds to that purport - - - 98
Their barbarous rapacity and unfeeling violence ibid.
Lauderdale orders home the Highlanders, and procures a vote of an assembly of the nobility, gentry, and clergy of Scotland, in favour of his administration - 99
England thrown into consternation by the rumour of a *Popish Plot* - - - ibid.
Account of Titus Oates, the chief actor in this horrid imposture - - - ibid.

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1678 Character of Dr. Tongue, his patron - 100
The King slights his pretended discoveries - ibid.
Pacquet of forged letters addressed to Bedingfield, the Duke of York's confessor - - 101
Tongue and Oates examined before the privy council ibid.
Substance of Oates's evidence - 102
Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician; Coleman, late secretary to the Duchess of York, and other catholics taken into custody - - ibid.
Examination of Coleman's papers - 103
Murder of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey - ibid.
Advantage taken of this incident, in order to inflame the popular frenzy - - 104
His dead body exposed to view, and his funeral celebrated with great pomp and parade - ibid.
An universal belief of the Popish Plot prevails, and the whole kingdom is filled with the most frightful apprehensions ibid.
The Earl of Danby opens the story of the Plot in the House of Peers - - 105
Oates examined at the bar of the House of Commons ibid.
Several Peers committed to the Tower, and impeached of high treason on his evidence - 106
Coleman, and many other catholics executed ibid.
New *Test Act* - - 107
Oates rewarded with a pension, has guards appointed for his protection, and is considered as the saviour of the nation ibid.
Accusation of the Lord Treasurer Danby, by Montague, the English ambassador at the court of France 108
Evidence produced against him - ibid.
An impeachment voted in the House of Commons, and articles exhibited in the House of Peers - 109
His defence - - ibid.
A majority of the Lords vote against his commitment ibid.
The Commons insist on it - - ibid.
1679 The King dissolves the Parliament in order to save his Minister - - 110
He entreats his brother the Duke of York, to conform to the established worship; and on his refusal, commands him to retire to the continent - - ibid.
Character of James, Duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II. - - 111
He is flattered by the Earl of Shaftesbury with the hopes of succeeding to the crown - ibid.
The King makes a solemn declaration of the illegitimacy of Monmouth - - 112
The new Parliament no less violent than the former, and consists nearly of the same members - ibid.

A.D. Page

1679 The Commons revive their prosecution of Danby 112
He surrenders to the Black Rod, and is committed to the Tower - - 113
Charles, in order to soothe the Commons, changes his ministers, and admits many popular leaders into the privy-council - - ibid.
The Commons remain dissatisfied - 114
They frame a bill for excluding the Duke of York from the succession to the crown, and continue their prosecution of Danby - - ibid.
Dispute between the Lords and Commons - 115
The King makes it a pretext for dissolving the Parliament ibid.
Character of the late Parliament - 116
Act of *Habeas Corpus* passed by it - ibid.
The rage against popery in England encourages the Scottish Covenanters in their fanaticism 117
Murder of Archbish Sharp - ibid.
The Covenanters more severely persecuted ibid.
They have recourse to arms - 118
Are routed and dispersed by the Duke of Monmouth at Bothwell bridge - - ibid.
Monmouth uses his victory with moderation ibid.
The government of Scotland committed to the duke of York, who persecutes the Covenanters with unfeeling rigour 119
Spirit of party still rages in England - ibid.
Rise of the names of *Whig* and *Tory* - ibid.
1680 New Parliament more violent than either of the two former ib.
The Commons bring in a bill for excluding the Duke of York from the throne - 120
It passes the Lower House, but is rejected by the lords ibid.
The Commons enraged at their disappointment, revive the impeachment of the Popish Lords - ibid.
Trial, condemnation, and execution of the earl of Stafford 121
Not satisfied with this sacrifice, the Commons continue to discover their ill humour in many factious votes and furious resolutions - - 122
1681 The king dissolves the Parliament - ibid.
Personal character of Charles II. - ibid.
Review of his Public conduct - 123
The violence of the Commons increases the number of his friends among the people - - ibid.
The king summons a new parliament to meet at Oxford 124
Petition against its sitting at that place ibid.
The elections every where carried in favour of the Whigs 125
Confidence of the popular leaders - ibid.
Firmness and vigour of the king - 126

The

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1681 The Commons, not over-awed, discover the same violence as formerly; they revive the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the Popish Plot, and the Bill of Exclusion 126

The king permits one of his ministers to make them a proposal for excluding the Duke of York, without breaking the line of succession - ibid.

They reject it with disdain - 127

The king, thinking he had now a sufficient apology for such a measure dissolves the Parliament - ibid.

Consternation of the popular leaders - ibid.

Charles concludes a secret money-treaty with France, in order to enable him to govern without parliamentary supplies, and publishes a declaration in vindication of his conduct toward the Parliament - - 128

Addresses full of loyalty and duty pour in from all the legal societies in the kingdom - ibid.

The king makes a tyrannical use of this sudden revolution of the sentiments of the nation in his favour ibid.

He persecutes the Presbyterians, and other Protestant dissenters - - 129

Justice perverted for their punishment ibid.

1682 Writ of *Quo Warranto* issued against the city of London, and its charter declared forfeited - 130

1683 Charter restored under certian restrictions ibid.

Almost all the corporations in England, intimidated at the fate of the capital, surrender their charters, and receive new ones, fabricated by the court - - ibid.

A perfect despotism is established - 131

Conspiracy for the restoration of the freedom of the constitution, commonly known by the name of the *Rye-house Plot* ibid.

Regular plan for an insurrection formed ibid.

The Plot discovered - - 132

Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, two of the principal conspirators executed - ibid.

The king universally congratulated on his escape from this danger, and the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience openly taught - - 133

The University of Oxford passes a solemn decree in favour of absolute monarchy - - ibid.

1684 The persecution of the Protestant Sectaries renewed; the perversion of justice carried to a still greater excess, and the Duke of York restored to the office of High Admiral, without taking the Test - - 134

The absolute authority of the king seems complete: yet even in that height of his power, he is said to have projected a change of measures - - ibid.

A.D. Page
1685 Sudden illness and death of Charles II. - 134
Sketch of his character - - 135
Conjectures concerning his religion - 136

LETTER XV.

General View of the Affairs on the Continent, from the Peace of Nimeguen, in 1678, to the League of Augsburg, in 1687.

1678 Lewis XIV. supports a vast army in time of peace, and acts as if absolute master of Europe - 137
He establishes arbitrary tribunals, for re-uniting such territories as had anciently depended upon any of his late conquests - - ibid.
1681 Gets possession of Strasburg, by stratagem 138
His arrogance in regard to the Low Countries ibid.
1683 He blockades Luxemburg - ibid.
Affairs of the empire - - 139
Tekeli, the head of the Hungarian malcontents, calls in the Turks to their assistance; and he and the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, invade the imperial dominions with two great armies - - ibid.
The Emperor Leopold abandons his capital ibid.
The Grand Vizier invests Vienna - 140
The Duke of Lorrain, the imperial general, so fortunate as to prevent the Hungarians from forming a junction with the Turks - - ibid.
John Sobieski, King of Poland, comes to the relief of Vienna ib.
The Turks are defeated with great slaughter, and abandon the siege with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them their tents, artillery, and baggage - 141
They are again defeated in the plain of Barcan, and all Hungary is recovered by the imperial arms ibid.
1684 The king of France makes himself master of Luxemburg, Courtray, and Dixmude - ibid.
He concludes an advantageous treaty with Spain and the empire at Ratisbon - - 142
Great naval power of Lewis XIV. - ibid.
He employs it honourably, in humbling the piratical States of Barbary - - ibid.
He also humbles the Genoese, for having supplied the Algerines with ordnance and ammunition - 143
The Doge of Genoa, and four of the principal senators, sent to Versailles to implore the clemency of the French monarch ib.
Glory and greatness of Lewis XIV. now at their height 144
He sustains an irreparable loss in the death of Colbert, his prime minister - ibid.

A.D. Page
View of Colbert'ss administration of the finances 144
1685 He encouraged the industry and ingenuity of the French Protestants - - 145
They are persecuted after his death - ibid.
Revocation of the edict of Nantes [Oct. 23.] ibid.
Cruel and impolitic regulations and ordinances, relative to the persecuted Protestants - 146
1686 All the artifices of priestcraft, and all the terrors of military execution ineffectually employed for their conversion ibid.
They make their escape into foreign countries, and carry with them their wealth, and their skill in ingenious manufactures ib.
1687 Lewis XIV. quarrels with Innocent XI. and triumphs over his Holiness. - - 147
He awakens the resentment of the Emperor Leopold 148
A league formed at Augsburg by the Continental Powers, for restraining the ambition of the French monarch ibid.

LETTER XVI.

Great Britian and Ireland, during the Reign of James II.

Introductory reflections - - 149
1685 King James begins his reign with a declaration of his resolution to maintain the established religion and government ibid.
Discovers his intention of overturning both 150
His imperious speech to his first parliament 151
The English Commons settle on him, during life, the same revenue enjoyed by the late king at the time of his death 152
The Scottish Parliament no less liberal and complaisant ibid.
A conspiracy against the authority of James formed in Holland, by the Dukes of Monmouth and Argyle 153
Argyle lands in Scotland, and puts himself at the head of his clan - - 154
He imprudently delays to march into the low part of the country until the king's troops are assembled ibid.
He is deserted by his followers, made prisoner, and immediately executed. - - 155
The Duke of Monmouth, in the mean time, lands in the West of England, is joined by a large body of adherents, and assumes the title of king - ibid.
He attacks the king's forces under the Earl of Feversham. at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater - 156
Is defeated, and made prisoner - ibid.
His behaviour during his confinement, and at his execution 157
Cruelty of the Earl of Feversham, after his victory ibid.
And of Colonel Kirk - bid.
Frightful severity of Chief Justice Jefferies 158

Two

A.D. Page

1685 Two hundred and fifty rebel prisoners executed 158
The king rewards the inhumanity of Jefferies with a peerage and the office of Chancellor 159
He augments the number of regular forces, and *dispenses* with the Test Act, in favour of some Roman Catholic officers ibid.
The Commons vote an address to the king against his dispensing power 160
1686 He repeatedly prorogues, and at last dissolves the Parliament ib.
Demands in vain from the Scottish Parliament some indulgence for the Roman Catholics in that kingdom ibid.
Attempts to support his dispensing power by the authority of Westminster-hall 161
Eleven out of the twelve judges declare in favour of it ibid.
James now publicly countenances the Catholics, and places many of them at the Council Board 162
Retrospective view of the affairs of Ireland ibid.
Talbot, a violent Papist, created Earl of Tyrconnel, and appointed Lieutenant-general of the King's forces in that kingdom, dismisses three hundred protestant officers, and a great number of private men, under pretence of new modelling the army 163
He is named Lord-lieutenant; and the Irish Protestants, seeing all civil authority and military power transferred into the hands of their religious enemies, are apprehensive of a new massacre ibid.
1687 The King re-establishes the court of High Commission, and issues a *Delaration of general Indulgence*, or *liberty of Conscience* "by his sovereign authority, and *absolute* power," to his subjects of all religions 164
He dispatches the Earl of Castlemain to Rome, in order to reconcile his kingdoms, in form, to the Holy See ibid.
Gives the Pope's nuncio a public audience ibid.
Four Popish bishops consecrated at the king's chapel ibid.
The Monks appear at court in the habits of their respective orders 165
The king attempts to introduce Roman Catholics into the church and universities ibid.
Refusal of the university of Cambridge ibid.
Affair of Magdalen College, Oxford 166
It occasions universal discontent, and gives a general alarm to the clergy 167
The king endeavours to gain the Protestant Dissenters, and to form a coalition between them and the Catholics ibid.
1688 With this view, he issues anew his Declaration of Indulgence, and orders it to be read in the pulpit by all the established clergy ibid.

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1688 Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſix Biſhops petition againſt the reading of it - 168

They are committed to the Tower - ibid.

Tried, and acquitted - - 169

Joy of the people on that occaſion - 170

The violence and bigotry of James continue, and alarm the whole nation - - 171

The queen delivered of a ſon - 172

The birth of the Prince of Wales repreſented as ſuppoſititious ib.

Coalition of Wigs and Tories, for reſtoring and ſecuring the Engliſh conſtitution - 173

William Prince of Orange is invited over to hold the reins of government, and deliver the nation from popery and arbitrary power - - ibid.

This flattering requeſt favoured by the league of Augſburg ibid.

Other circumſtances contribute to facilitate the invaſion of the Prince of Orange - - 174

Infatuated ſecurity of King James - 175

Both the Engliſh fleet and army infected with the ſpirit of diſloyalty - - 176

James collects his forces - ibid.

He endeavours to appeaſe the nation by civil conceſſions 177

He reſtores the charter of London, and the charters of all the corporations in the kingdom - ibid.

His conduct not conſiſtent - 178

Preparations of the Prince of Orange - ibid.

He puts to ſea with fifty ſhips of the line, fifty frigates and fire-ſhips, and five hundred tranſports, carrying fifteen thouſand land forces [Oct. 19.] - ibid.

Is driven back by a ſtorm to Helvoetſluys 179

Again puts to ſea, and lands without oppoſition in Torbay [Nov. 3.] - - ibid.

The Engliſh fleet, under Lord Dartmouth, diſperſed by a violent ſtorm - - ibid.

The Prince of Orange publiſhes a declaration, ſetting forth the grievances of Great Britain and Ireland, and his purpoſe of relieving them - - 180

It is received with ardour; but few perſons of any diſtinction join William for ſome days - 181

The example being ſhewn by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet, an aſſociation is formed for his ſupport, and all England is ſoon in commotion - 182

The king, who had arrived at Saliſbury, is deſerted by the chief officers of his army, and among others, by Lord Churchill - - 183

On his arrival in London he finds that his favourite daughter Anne, Princeſs of Denmark, had withdrawn herſelf along with Lady Churchill - 184

CONTENTS.

A.D.		Page
1688	Overwhelmed with ſorrow, conſternation, and terror, James ſends the Queen and the Prince of Wales into France, and prepares to follow them in perſon -	184
	With that intention, he quits his palace at midnight, and throws the Great Seal into the river Thames	185
	Inſurrection of the populace in London	ibid.
	Biſhops and Peers aſſemble in Guildhall, and erect themſelves into a ſupreme council -	ibid.
	They execute ſeveral functions of royalty, and invite the Prince of Orange to ſettle the affairs of the kingdom	186
	William readily accepts the offer, and advances to Windſor	ibid.
	He there receives the unwelcome news, that the king had been ſeized in diſguiſe at Feverſham -	ibid.
	James re-enters his capital, amidſt the loudeſt acclamations	187
	Receives at midnight a meſſage from the Prince of Orange, his ſon-in law, ordering him to quit his palace, and William's Dutch guards take inſtantly poſſeſſion of it	ibid.
	The king removes next morning to Rocheſter under a guard	ib.
	He ſtill meditates his eſcape to France, notwithſtanding the warm remonſtrances of the Earl of Middleton, Lord Dundee, and other firm adherents - -	188
	Accompliſhes his deſign, and arrives ſafe at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, accompanied by his natural ſon, the Duke of Berwick	ibid.
	Character of James II. -	189
	William arrives at Whitehall -	ibid.
	Receives addreſſes from all orders of men	190
	Summons a Convention for the ſettlement of the kingdom	191
	Progreſs of the Revolution in Scotland -	ibid.
1689	The Scottiſh convention declares the throne vacant, and invites the Prince and Princeſs of Orange to take poſſeſſion of it - -	192
	Proceedings of the Engliſh convention -	ibid.
	Diſputes concerning the *Original Contract* between the *King* and *People* - -	ibid.
	Both Houſes admit the exiſtence of ſuch contract, and reſolve, That King James had broken that contract	193
	Diſpute concerning the *vacancy* of the throne	ibid.
	Arguments on both ſides -	194
	The two Houſes declare the throne vacant	195
	Diſpute relative to the perſon who ſhall fill it	ibid.
	The Prince and Princeſs of Orange declared king and Queen of England - - -	196
	INSTRUMENT OF SETTLEMENT - -	ibid.
	The grand ſtruggle between *Privilege* and *Prerogative* finally terminated, and the limits of the Engliſh conſtitution fixed	197
	Sufficient proviſion not made againſt the corrupting *influence* of the crown - -	198

A.D. Page

LETTER XVII.

Great Britain and Ireland from the Revolution in 1688, till the Assassination Plot, in 1696.

1689 Introductory reflections - - 199
New separation of parties - - ibid.
Character of the Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites 200
Act of Toleration - - - 201
The Presbyterian religion re-established in Scotland ibid.
State of Ireland - - - ibid.
That kingdom preserved in the interest of James II. by the earl of Tyrconnel, his Lord-lieutenant - 202
Tyrconnel raises a great body of men - 203
The Protestants, fearing a general massacre, throw themselves into Londonderry, and other strong places ibid.
King James lands in Ireland, and is received by the Catholics, with the warmest expressions of loyalty and affection 204
His army is reinforced with seven battalions of French troops ibid.
He assembles the Irish Parliament, and repeals the Act of Settlement - - - ibid.
Passes an Act of Attainder against all absconding Protestants, and declares Ireland independent of the English crown 205
The English Parliament passes an act of general indemnity ib.
King William declares war against France ibid.
Farther progress of the ambition of Lewis XIV. ibid.
England accedes to the League of Augsburg 206
Lord Dundee animates the Jacobite party in Scotland, and collects an army of Highlanders for the support of their cause ib.
General Mackay is sent against him with a body of regular troops - - - - ibid.
Battle of Killicranky - - 207
Glorious victory gained by the Highlanders ibid.
Death and character of Lord Dundee 208
His army disperses, and all Scotland submits to the authority of William III. - - - ibid.
Siege of Londonderry by King James - ibid.
Gallant defence of the Protestants - 209
Cruel expedient of the Marquis de Rosen - ibid.
The place is relieved, and the siege raised ibid.
1690 King William lands in Ireland - - 210
Battle of the Boyne [July 1] - - ibid.
Death of the Duke of Schomberg - ibid.
King James defeated, and his army dispersed 211
He imprudently returns to France - ibid.

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1690 Lewis XIV. instead of furnishing him with a new army, sends transports to carry off the French troops 212

Ashamed of their defeat, the Irish Catholics collect courage, and every where make a gallant resistance ibid.

King William invests Limerick in person, and is compelled to raise the siege - - - 213

Returns to England in disgust, and commits the reduction of Ireland to lord Churchill, created earl of Marlborough ib.

Marlborough reduces Corke and Kinsale before the close of the campaign - - - - - 214

1691 Siege of Athlone - - - ibid.

The town gallantly taken by Baron Ginckle, ibid.

Ginckle defeats the Irish army, under St. Ruth, at Aghrim, and invests Limerick - - - 215

It capitulates, and all Ireland submits to the arms of William ib.

Affairs of England - - - 216

King William disgusted with the Convention Parliament ibid.

He dissolves it. - - - - 217

The new Parliament, which consists almost wholly of Tories, settles on William the revenue of the Crown for life ibid.

The discontented Whigs enter into cabals with the Jacobites ib.

1692 Massacre of Glenco - - - 218

It shocks all Europe, and enables the adherents of James to render odious the government of William 219

An insurrection concerted in favour of the dethroned monarch ib.

An army of twenty thousand Irish and French troops falls down toward the coast of Normandy, in order to co-operate with the insurgents - - - ibid.

James and his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, arrive in the French camp - - - 220

Famous sea-fight off La Hogue - - 221

The French fleet, under Tourville, totally defeated and ruined by Admiral Russell, and the projected invasion rendered abortive - - - - ibid.

1693 Corruption of the English House of Commons 222

1694 Bill passed for Triennial Parliaments - ibid.

Death and character of Queen Mary - 223

Conspiracies formed against the life and authority of William 224

The most dangerous of those conducted by Sir George Berkeley - - - - ibid.

The Assassination Plot is discovered, and several of the conspirators are executed - - 225

William's government more firmly established ibid.

Admiral Russell spreads terror along the French coast 226

James II. seeing the designs of his adherents finally broken, relinquishes all hopes of recovering the English crown ibid.

LET-

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

LETTER XVIII.

The Military Transactions on the Continent, from the Beginning of the War that followed the League of Augsburg, to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, and of Carlowitz, in 1699.

1688 Introductory view of the state of the contending powers 227
1689 Vigorous exertions of Lewis XIV. - 228
He lays the Palatinate waste with fire and sword ibid.
Finds himself inferior to the allies, though he had four hundred thousand men in the field - - 229
The French army in Flanders, under the Mareschal d'Humieres, defeated at Walcourt, by the Prince of Waldec ibid.
The Turks, the allies of France, are routed in three successive engagements, by the Imperialists under the prince of Baden 230
1690 Progress of the Mareschal de Catinat in Italy ibid.
Dutch defeated with great slaughter, by the Mareschal de Luxemburg, in the battle of Fleurus - 231
Death and character of the Duke of Lorrain ibid.
His letter to the Emperor on his death-bed 232
Rapid Progress of the Turks in Hungary ibid.
Sea-fight off Beachy-head - - - 233
The French fleet, under Tourville, defeats the combined fleets of England and Holland - - 234
1691 Inactive campaign in Flanders - - ibid.
The Turks totally routed at Salankeman by the Imperialists under the Prince of Baden - - 235
1692 Namur taken by Lewis XIV. in sight of the allied army, under king William - - - ibid.
Battle of Steinkirk - - - . 236
The allies defeated by the French - ibid.
The Imperialists take great Warwadin from the Turks 237
1693 Lewis XIV. appears with great pomp in Flanders ibid.
But suddenly returns to Versailles, and sends part of his army into Germany - - - 238
Conjectures concerning the cause of so unexpected a measure ib.
Battle of Neerwindin - - - 239
Strong position of the allies - - ibid.
They are attacked by the French army, under Luxemburg 240
And routed with great slaughter, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, directed by the courage and conduct of William - - - - 241
Cruelty of the French in Germany - - ibid.
Military operations in Catalonia and Piedmont 242
The Mareschal de Noailles takes Roses - ibid.
Battle of Marsaglia - - - ibid.
The French army in Italy, under the Mareschal de Catinat, defeats the allies, commanded by the duke of Savoy 243

A.D. Page
1693 Naval affairs - - - 243
The French frigates and privateers distress the English and Dutch trade - - - ibid.
Tourville captures and destroys great part of their Smyrna fleet - - - 244
France afflicted with a dreadful famine - ibid.
1694 The allies retake Huy - - - 245
Mareschal de Noailles forces the passage of the river Ter, and defeats the Spaniards - - ibid.
Death of the Duke of Luxemburg - ibid.
1695 King William retakes Namur - - 246
Progress of the Turks, under Mustapha II. 247
1696 Congress opened at Ryswick - - ibid.
1697 Peace concluded there, between France and the allied powers 248
Stipulations iu the treaty of Ryswick - ibid.
Battle of Zanta - - - - 249
The Turks totally routed by the Imperialists under prince Eugene - - - - ibid.
1699 Peace of Carlowitz, between the Grand Seignior and the Christian powers - - - 250

LETTER XIX.

Progress of Society in Europe, from the Middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century.

Preamble - - - - 251
Francis I. by encouraging ladies to appear publicly at the French court, familiarizes the intercourse of the sexes ibid.
Licentiousness resulting from that familiarity - 252
The court of France little better than a common brothel, during the regency of Catherine of Medicis - ibid.
Elegent sensuality of the court of Henry IV. ibid.
The ladies become more sparing of their favours 253
Gallantry formed into a system during the reign of Lewis XIII. - - - - ibid.
Becomes altogether romantic during the regency of Anne of Austria - - - - ibid.
The ladies appear openly at the head of factions, adorned with the ensigns of their party - - - 254
French manners attain their highest polish during the resign of Lewis XIV. - - - - 255
Account of the origin of duelling - - 256
The practice, though pernicious and absurd, attended with some beneficial consequences - - ibid.
Rapid progress of arts and literature in France ibid.
Observations of the French *Academy* on the *Cid* 257
Character of the more early French writers - ibid.

State

A.D. Page

State of Sculpture, painting, and music, during the reign of Lewis XIV. - - - - 258
The progress of taste and politeness slow in the North of Europe - - - - - ibid.
Influence of the Reformation in awaking a freedom of thinking 259
Rise and diffusion of the doctrine of *toleration* 260
The ancient Heathens not generally persecutors 261
The first Christians inclined to persecution - ibid.
They practise it, as soon as invested with the civil power 262
The papal supremacy authorises it - - 263
A right to extirpate *error* by *force* universally admitted, even after the Reformation - - - ibid.
Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, persecutors 264
More liberal opinions diffused in Germany and the United Provinces after the Peace of Westphalia - ibid.
Copernicus had discovered, before that æra, the true system of the heavens - - - 265
Galielo confirms and extends the discoveries of Copernicus ib.
The influence of the Reformation on government and manners 266
The people in every Protestant country acquire new privileges ibid.
The popish clergy become more learned, and less exceptionable in their morals - - - 267
Institution of the order of Jesuits, for the support of the jurisdiction of the Holy See - - 268
Character and conduct of that order - - 269
The Jesuits acquire the chief direction of the education of youth in every Catholic kingdom, and become confessors to most Catholic Princes - - - ibid.
They act as missionaries, and obtain a licence to trade with the nations they seek to convert - - ibid.
Open warehouses in different parts of Europe, where they vend their commodities - - - 270
Propagate a system of pliant morality, which justifies every crime, and tolerates every vice - - ibid.
Revive those doctrines that tend to exalt ecclesiastical power on the ruins of civil authority - - 271
The chosen soldiers of the Pope, they consider it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions of the Protestants, and to check the progress of the Reformation ibid.
State of manners and literature in England during the reign of Elizabeth - - - - - 272
Character of Spenser's *Fairy Queen* - - ibid.
——— of the writings of Shakspeare, with reflections on the Three Unities - - - 273

 Poets,

CONTENTS.

A.D.		Page
	Poets and prose writers, during the reign of James I.	274
	Hooker, Camden, Raleigh	ibid.
	Fairfax, Fletcher, Johnson, Drayton, Daniel	275
	Extract from Drayton's *Barons Wars*	ibid.
	——— from Daniel's *Civil War*	276
	Progress of the polite arts in England, during the tranquillity of the reign of Charles I.	277
	Obstructed by the spirit of faction and fanaticism	ibid.
	Account of George Fox, founder of the sect of Quakers	278
	Extravagancies of his early followers	ibid.
	Blaspemous enthusiasm of James Naylor	279
	Origin of the name of Quakers	280
	Fundamental principles of that sect	ibid.
	Civil and religious peculiarities of the Quakers	281
	Their simplicity in dress	282
	Their pacific character	ibid.
	The force and compass of the English language first fully tried in the disputes between the King and Parliament	283
	The genius of John Milton awakened by those disputes	ibid.
	Character of his *Paradise Lost*	ibid.
	——— of the *Davideis* of Cowley	ibid.
	Extract from Cowley's *Ode to Liberty*	284
	Character of Waller, with an extract from his poem, entitled the *Summer Islands*	ibid.
	——— of Dryden, Lee, and Otway	285
	Licentious manners of the courtiers of Charles II.	286
	The same licentiousness infects the poets and painters	ibid.
	Of sir Peter Lely and the dramatic writers	ibid.
	A better taste observable in the latter productions of Dryden	287
	Character of Dryden, as a prose-writer, aud of Clarendon, Temple, and Tillotson	ibid.
	Progress of the sciences in England during the Seventeenth Century	ibid.
	Character of Bacon, Harvey, and Hobbes	288
	Establishment of the *Royal Society*	ibid.
	Wilkins, Wallis, and Boyle, make many discoveries in mathematics and natural philosophy	289
	Shaftesbury frames a benevolent system of morals	ibid.
	Discoveries of Newton and Locke	290
	Reflections on scepticism and excessive refinement	291

LETTER XX.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Ryswick to the Grand Alliance, in 1701.

1697	Introductory observations	291
	Spanish succession	ibid.

A.D.		Page
1697	Competitors for it, and their ſeveral claims -	292
1698	Firſt Partition Treaty - - -	293
	Stipulations in that treaty - - -	294
1699	Second Partition Treaty between England, Holland, and France - - - -	295
	Affairs of the North of Europe - -	296
	Account of the plans of Peter I. of Ruſſia, afterward ſurnamed the Great - - -	ibid.
	In order to acquire the art of governing, and with a view of carrying back to his people the improvements of more poliſhed nations, he quits his dominions in diſguiſe, and viſits Germany, England, and Holland -	297
	He returns to Ruſſia, after an abſence of two years	298
	Enters into an alliance with the kings of Poland and Denmark againſt Charles XII. of Sweden, yet in his minority	ibid.
	Charles not diſconcerted at the powerful confederacy formed againſt him - - - -	299
1700	The Danes invade the Duchy of Holſtein -	ibid.
	The young king of Sweden, aſſiſted by a Dutch and Engliſh ſquadron, invades Denmark - -	300
	And inveſts Copenhagen both by ſea and land	ibid.
	The king of Denmark, in order to ſave his capital, is obliged to ſign the treaty of Travendal -	301
	Account of the ſettlement of the Scottiſh colony at Darien	ib.
	The Engliſh and Spaniards become jealous of that ſettlement	302
	Its utter ruin, and the rage of the Scots - -	303
	The people of England diſſatisfied with the ſecond Partition Treaty	ibid.
	The Emperor refuſes to accede to it	304
	Charles II. of Spain makes a will in favour of the duke of Anjou, grandſon of Lewis XIV.	305
1701	The ſucceſſion to the crown of England ſettled on the Princeſs Sophia, Ducheſs Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Proteſtants - -	306
	This ſettlement of the crown accompanied with certain limitations - - - -	ibid.
	Death of the King of Spain - -	307
	The Duke of Anjou crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V. - - - -	ibid.
	Apology of Lewis XIV. for allowing his grandſon to accept the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, in violation of the Partition Treaty	308
	King William and the States-general conceal their reſentment	ib.
	The Spaniards reſign themſelves entirely to the guardianſhip of the French monarch - - -	309
	The king of England and the States find it neceſſary to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou, as lawful ſovereign of Spain	310

A.D. Page
1701 The Emperor Leopold alone disputes the title of Philip V. to the Spanish succession - - 310
He sends an army into Italy, under Prince Eugene, in order to support his claim to the Duchy of Milan 311
The French compelled to retire beyond the Oglio ibid.
Repulsed with great loss at Carpi - 312
Fruitless negociations of England and Holland with France ib.
GRAND ALLIANCE signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, the king of England, and the States-General of the United Provinces - - - 313
The avowed objects of that alliance - - ibid.
Retrospective view of the affairs of the North of Europe ibid.
Battle of Narva - - - 314
Charles XII. defeats the Russians with great slaughter ibid.
The Czar Peter not discouraged by this disaster ibid.
Rapid progress of the King of Sweden - 315
He defeats the Poles and Saxons in the neighbourhood of Riga, and advances to Mittaw, the capital of Courland ibid.
Forms the project of dethroning Augustus II. King of Poland, by means of his own subjects - - 316

L E T T E R XXI.

Europe from the Beginning of the General War, in 1701, to the offers of Peace made by France, in 1706, and the Union of England and Scotland.

Death of James II. - - - 317
Lewis XIV. in violation of the treaty of Ryswick, acknowledges the son of that unfortunate monarch King of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III. ibid.
King William recals his ambassador from the court of France, and orders the French Envoy to quit his dominions 318
1702 The English Parliament enters warmly into the resentment and views of William - - - ibid.
His death and character - - - 319
He preserved England from popery and arbitrary power, but laid the foundation of her national debt - 320
Accession of Queen Anne - - - ibid.
She declares her resolution to pursue the objects of the Grand Alliance - - - - 321
Great abilities of her ministers, Godolphin and Marlborough ib.
War declared against France (on the same day) at London, the Hague, and Vienna - - - ibid.
The Imperialists on the Upper Rhine, under the Prince of Badan, defeated by the French, commanded by the Marquis de Villars - - - 322

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

Masterly movements and rapid progress of the Earl of Marlborough, in Flanders - - 323
Operations by sea - - - 324
The combined fleets of England and Holland fail in an attempt upon Cadiz - - - ibid.
But capture the Spanish galleons, and take or burn a French squadron in the harbour of Vigo - 325
Liberal supplies voted by the English parliament ibid.
1703 The Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal join in the Grand Alliance - . - 326
The Elector of Bavaria carries on hostilities with vigour in the heart of Germany - - - ibid.
In conjunction with Marefchal Villars, he defeats the Imperialists in the plains of Hochstet - 327
Operations in Alsace, Italy, and Flanders - ibid.
Success various - - - - . 328
The Emperor makes his son Charles assume the title of King of Spain - - - 329
Discontents in Scotland fomented by the Jacobites 330
Ascendant of Tory principles in England - ibid.
1704 The Whigs obtain a share in the administration 331
Marlborough marches into Germany with the allied army 332
Forms a junction with Prince Eugene - ibid.
Battle of Blenheim - - - 333
French and Bavarians defeated with great slaughter 334
Important consequences of the memorable victory obtained by the confederates - - - 335
They are less successful in Flanders, and in Spain ibid.
In Italy, the campaign is favourable to the house of Bourbon 336
Operations by sea - - - ibid.
Gibraltar taken by the English sailors - 337
Obstinate sea-fight off Malaga - - ibid.
1705 The Whig interest predominates in the English Parliament 338
Disorders in France occasioned by the Camisards, a remnant of the Hugonots, who had taken refuge in the Cevennes 339
The Camisards reduced to obedience by the Duke of Berwick - - - - - 340
Lewis XIV. takes vigorous steps for repelling the progress of the confederates, under the victorious Marlborough ibid.
The death of the Emperor Leopold, who is succeeded by his son Joseph, makes no alteration in the system of the confederates - - - - - 341
No memorable enterprise effected in Flanders during the campaign - - - - ibid.
The French maintain their superiority in Italy ibid.
The Archduke Charles, supported by an English and Dutch fleet, makes great progress in Spain 342

1705 He takes Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia, with almost the whole kingdom of Valencia, submits to him 342
Interesting particulars of the siege of Barcelona 343
Lewis XIV. resolves to act with vigour at the same time, in Italy, Flanders, and in Spain - - 344
1706 Villeroy commands his army in Flanders - 345
Battle of Ramilies - - - ibid.
The French defeated by the confederate army, under the Duke of Marlborough - - 346
The conquest of Brabant, and of the greater part of Spanish Flanders, the consequence of this victory ibid.
Siege of Turin - - - - 347
Prince Eugene advances to the relief of the place 348
He attacks the French lines - - 349
And routs and disperses their army - 350
The French and Spaniards forced to raise the siege of Barcelona - - - - ibid.
The Archduke, supported by an English and Portuguese army, enters Madrid, and is there proclaimed King of Spain, under the title of Charles III. - - - 351
Forced to quit that city - - - ibid.
The islands of Majorca and Ivica taken by the English fleet, under sir John Leake - - - 352
Retrospective view of the affairs of the North and East of Europe - - - - ibid.
Charles XII. of Sweden, in consequence of his resolution of dethroning Augustus II. King of Poland, makes himself master of Warsaw, [A. D. 1702] and enters into a negociation with the Polish malecontents - - 353
Battle of Glissaw - - - 354
The army of Augustus totally routed - ibid.
Charles XII. breaks his thigh-bone - 355
He again defeats the forces of Augustus, [A. D. 1703] at Pultausk - - - - ibid.
The Polish diet, assembled at Warsaw, declares Augustus "incapable of wearing the crown of Poland," and the throne vacant, [A. D. 1704] - - 356
Stanislaus Leczinski, Palatine of Posnania, elected King, through the influence of the Swedish monarch 357
The Czar Peter increases in power and glory 358
He builds the city of Petersburg, which he makes the seat of his court - - - - 359
Sends sixty thousand Russians into Poland, in order to restore the authority of Augustus - - 360
The Russians defeated, and driven beyond the Boristhenes by the king of Sweden - - - ibid.
1706 Battle of Travanstad [Feb. 13] - - 361

A.D. Page

1706 The Saxon troops of Auguſtus, under Schullemberg, defeated with great ſlaughter by the Swedes, commanded by Mareſchal Renſchild - - - . 361
Charles XII. enters the electorate of Saxony, the hereditary principality of Auguſtus, and compels him to crave peace ib.
He obtains it, but on the moſt humiliating terms 362
The march of the King of Sweden into Germany awakens the hopes and fears of all Europe - ibid.
Lewis XIV. having in vain courted the alliance of the Northern conqueror, whoſe mind was wholly bent upon humbling the Czar, ſues to the confederates for peace 363
His terms, though equitable, rejected - ibid.
The confederates reſolve, "That no peace ſhall be made "with the Houſe of Bourbon, while a prince of that houſe "continues to ſit upon the throne of Spain" 364
The object of the Grand Alliance, by this reſolution, in ſome meaſure changed - - - 365
Union between England and Scotland - 366
Articles of that Union - - - 367
Equivalent paid to Scotland - - 368
The Scots diſſatisfied - - - ibid.
Pride and patriotiſm of Andrew Fletcher of Salton 369
The Union beneficial to both kingdoms - 370

LETTER XXII.

The general View of Europe continued, from the Refuſal of the Offers of Peace made by France, in 1706, to the Conferences held at Gertruydenberg, in 1710.

Lewis XIV. endeavours to ſupply his want of money by iſſuing bills upon the Mint, and reſolutely prepares himſelf to repel the efforts of his victorious enemies - 371
1707 The confederates make themſelves maſters of Milan, Modena, and all the Spaniſh dominions in Italy - ibid.
Operations in Spain - - 372
Battle of Almanza - - - ibid.
The French and Spaniards, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, gain a complete victory over the confederates 373
Rapid progreſs of the arms of Philip V. ibid.
Mareſchal Villars enters Germany with a French army, and penetrates as far as the Danube - - 374
Charles XII. quarrels with the court of Vienna ibid.
His imperious demands - - - 375
The Duke of Marlborough viſits him in his camp at Alt-Ranſtadt - - - ibid.
Particulars of that interview - - 376

The

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1707 The King of Sweden, having obtained his demands, repasses the Oder - - - - 376

Siege of Toulon by the confederates, under Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy - - 377

They are obliged to abandon the enterprise ibid.

The failure of this enterprise, and the misfortunes of the confederates in Spain, furnish the enemies of Marlborough and Godolphin, at the English court, with a pretext for discrediting their measures - - 378

Intrigues of Mrs. Masham and Mr. Secretary Harley ibid.

1708 These intrigues encourage Lewis XIV. to make an attempt in favour of the Pretender - - 379

It proves abortive - - ibid.

The French army in Flanders more numerous than that of the confederates - - - 380

Battle of Oudenarde [July 11] - - 381

The French defeated by the Duke of Marlborough ibid.

He is joined by the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene 382

They undertake the siege of Lisle [Aug. 22.] ibid.

That important place is forced to surrender [Oct. 23.] 383

The affairs of the confederates continue to decline in Spain 384

Operations by sea - - - 385

Sir John Leake, with on English fleet and army, reduces the islands of Sardinia end Minorca - - ibid.

The Emperor Joseph humbles the Pope and the Italian States 386

Godolphin and Marlborough, having expelled Harley from the English cabinet, strengthen their administration, by sharing the emoluments of government with the dissatisfied Whigs - - - - ibid.

Lord Somers made President of the Council, and the Earl of Wharton Lord Lieutenant of Ireland - 387

1709 Advantageous terms of peace offered by Lewis XIV. ibid.

Haughtily rejected by the confederates 388

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene invest Tournay 389

They reduced it and besiege Mons - 390

Villars takes post in the neighbourhood with the French army ibid.

Battle of Malplaquet - - - 391

Dreadful slaughter on both sides - ibid.

The French obliged to quit the field - - - 392

Mons surrenders - - - ibid.

The Imperialists defeated in Upper Alsace 393

And the English and Portuguese in Spain ibid.

The King of France renews his applications for peace, and conferences are appointed, [A.D. 1710] at Gertruydenberg ib.

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1709 Retrospective view of the progress of Charles XII. 394
He drives the Russians [A. D. 1708] a second time out of Poland - - - - ibid.
Slights the Czar's proposals of peace ibid.
Attempts to march to Moscow through the Ukraine 395
Passes the river Disnia in the face of the enemy ibid.
Is disappointed in the assistance of the Cossacks 396
Disasters of Lewenhaupt, his General - ibid.
His army suffers incredible hardships from hunger and cold 397
He arrives [May 10.] in the neighbourhood of Pultowa ibid.
Lays siege to the place - - - 398
The Czar advances to its relief - - ibid.
Battle of Pultowa [July 11.] - - ibid.
The King of Sweden vanquished, and his army utterly ruined ibid.
He escapes to Bender, a Turkish town in Moldavia 399
Important consequences of the defeat of Charles XII. ibid.
He endeavours to engage the Turks in a war with Russia 400

LETTER XXIII.

The General View of Europe carried forward, from the Opening of the Conferences at Gertruydenberg, to the Treaties of Utretcht and Rastadt.

1710 Humiliating concessions of Lewis XIV. - 401
Insolent demand of the deputies of the States General ibid.
Conferences at Gertruydenberg broken off 402
Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough reduce Doway, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, in sight of the French army under Villars - - - ibid.
The Spaniards defeated by the Generals Stanhope and Staremberg in the battles of Almanara and Saragossa 403
Charles III. enters Madrid at the head of his victorious army ibid.
He is forced a second time to abandon that capital to his rival Philip V. - - - 404
Five thousand British troops, under General Stanhope, made prisoners by the Duke de Vendome - - ibid.
Battle of Villa Viciosa - - 405
Staremberg, with an inferior force, obliges Vendome to retreat - - - ibid.
Continues his march into Catalonia - ibid.
Intrigues in the court of England - - 406
Great power of Marlborough and Godolphin - ibid.
Their popularity begins to decline - 407
The Tories take advantage of that change of humour in the people - - - - 408

A.D. Page
1710 They represent the church and monarchy as in danger from dissenters, and men of levelling principles 408
This doctrine propagated from the pulpit with great vehemence by Dr. Henry Sacheverell - 409
His famous sermon before the Lord Mayor of London ibid.
It is printed, and sells rapidly - - 410
He is impeached and taken into custody - ibid.
Anxiety of the people for his fate - - 411
His trial - - - - ibid.
He is found guilty, but slightly punished - ibid.
His exultation and that of the populace - 412
Change in the English ministry - - ibid.
Godolphin removed from the head of the treasury ibid.
Harley made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and St. John Secretary of State - - - 413
The Duke of Marlborough alone permitted to retain his employments - - - ibid.
His complicated character - - ibid.
His intrigues, and those of Harley, created Earl of Oxford, and appointed Lord Treasurer - - 414
The Pretender is encouraged to write to his sister, Queen Anne ibid.
Oxford secretly a friend to the Protestant Succession 415
And Godolphin to the Pretender - - 416
Their contradictory conduct, in consequence of their political situations - - - ibid.
New administration introduced with a new parliament ibid.
Tories possess a majority in the House of Commons 417
1711 Liberal supplies voted for the support of the war ibid.
Death of the Emperor Joseph changes the political state of Europe - - - 418
The Archduke Charles succeeds to the Imperial throne and the dominions of the House of Austria - ibid.
Bold plan of operations, formed by Marlborough, obstructed by the Emperor's death - - ibid.
He takes Bouchain in sight uf the French army under Villars, after attempting in vain to bring on an engagement 419
Staremberg maintains with ability the cause of the confederates in Spain - - - - ibid.
Secret treaty negociated between the courts of France and England - - - - 420
Accidentally discovered, and gives general alarm to the allied powers - - - - ibid.
The people of England filled with indignation at the preliminary articles in that treaty - - 421
The more moderate Tories take part with the populace and the Whigs - - - - ibid.

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1711 The Britiſh miniſtry ſupported by the ableſt writers in the kingdom - - - - 422

Queen's ſpeech to the Parliament - ibid.

Lords vote, "That no peace can be ſafe or honourable, "ſhould Spain and the Indies be allowed to remain with "any branch of the Houſe of Bourbon." ibid.

The Duke of Marlborough (by whoſe influence chiefly this vote had been procured) deprived of his employments, and twelve new Peers created, in order to ſecure a majority in the Houſe of Lords - - - 423

Cabals of the Whigs, in conſequence of that ſtretch of the royal prerogative - - - - ibid.

The Tories exert all the force of wit and ſatire againſt their political adverſaries - - 424

State of the diſpute between the parties - ib.

The Duke of Marlborough, by puſhing France on the ſide of Flanders, took the moſt effectual way of depriving the Houſe of Bourbon of the Spaniſh throne - 425

Another campaign, had the confederates continued united, would probably have enabled him to penetrate to Paris ib.

The change in the Engliſh councils greatly to be lamented 426

No ſtop ſhould have been put to the career of victory, until the Houſe of Bourbon had been completely humbled ibid.

Arguments of the Whigs againſt a premature peace 427

Diviſion which might have been made of the Spaniſh monarchy, in order to preſerve a due balance of power in Europe ibid.

Prince Eugene invited over to London by the Whigs 428

He hopes to embarraſs the Britiſh miniſtry with ſplendid offers from the Imperial court, for the continuance of the war ib.

1712 The Tories had ſecured a majority in both Houſes of Parliament before his arrival [Jan. 5.] - 429

He propoſes many deſperate expedients for depriving the Tories of the adminiſtration - - ibid.

Thoſe expedients prudently rejected by the leaders of the Whigs - - - - - ibid.

Barrier treaty brought before the Houſe of Commons 430

Lord Townſhend, who had negociated that treaty, declared an enemy to the Queen and kingdom - ibid.

Correſpondence of both the late and preſent miniſtry with the Pretender - - - 431

Their different views - - - ibid.

The policy of England during this period an object of philoſophic curioſity - - - 432

Conferences for a general peace opened at Utrecht ibid.

Death of the Princes of the blood of France 433

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1712 Apprehensions of the confederates, lest the crowns of France and Spain, in consequence of that mortality, should be united upon the head of Philip V. 433

Deceitful proceedings of the British ministry 434

They are obliged, on the death of the French princes, to instruct their plenipotentiaries to insist on some stipulation for preventing the union of the French and Spanish monarchies ibid.

Different proposals made to Philip V. - 435

He prefers the certain possession of the Spanish crown to the eventual succession to that of France - ibid.

Lewis XIV. reluctantly consents to the renunciation of his grandson - - - 436

That renunciation registered in the books of the Parliament of Paris, and solemnly received by the states of Castile and Arragon - - - - ibid.

The Queen of England secretly agrees to a suspension of arms 437

Examination of the progress of the campaign ibid.

Prince Eugene proposes to attack the French army under Villars, in hopes of concluding the war with a splendid victory 438

His purpose defeated by the hesitation of the Duke of Ormond, who commanded the British forces, and who had orders not to act offensively - - - ibid.

Ignominy of this cruel inactivity, and the treachery of the British ministry, set forth in a letter from the States of the United Provinces - - - 439

It would have been less dishonourable, and more advantageous, to have concluded at once a separate treaty with France 441

Prince Eugene reduces Quesnoy, and sends a detachment to penetrate into the heart of France - - 442

The Duke of Ormond makes known to the generals of the allies the cessation of arms between France and England ibid.

He separates the British forces from those of the other confederates - - - - - 443

Prince Eugene invests Landracy - - ibid.

Villars routes at Denain a detachment from the allied army ib.

The field-deputies of the States oblige Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Landracy - - - 444

Villars, having taken Marchiennes, where the principal magazines of the confederates were deposited, recovers successively Doway, Quesnoy, and Bouchain - - ibid.

1713 The Dutch, made sensible of their perilous situation, accede to the plan of pacification settled between France and England 445

Their example is followed by the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal - - - ibid.

And

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1713 And the Emperor, finding himself unable to support any military operations in Spain, agrees to the evacuation of Catalonia - - 445
Queen Anne solicited by the Jacobites to take some step in favour of the Pretender - - ibid.
The Earl of Oxford renders all their schemes for that purpose abortive - - 4:6
But continues to forward the negociations for peace, as necessary for the security of his own administration ibid.
Treaties between the different powers signed at Utretcht [March 31.] - - ibid.
Substance of those Treaties - 447
The Emperor rashly resolves to continue the war alone 449
Progress of the French army, under Villars on the Rhine ibid.
1714 Treaty of Rastadt [March 6.] - 450
The King of Spain accedes to the general pacification ibid.
Siege of Barcelona by the duke of Berwick - 451
The place is taken by assault, after a desperate conflict [Sept 11.] 452
The Catalans are disarmed, and stript of their ancient privileges - - ibid.

LETTER XXIV.

Great Britain, from the Peace of Utrecht, to the Suppression of the Rebellion, in 1715, with some Account of the Affairs of France, and the Intrigues of the Court of St. Germains.

1713 The peace of Utretcht raises the hopes of the Jacobites 453
Retrospective view of their Intrigues in favour of the Pretender ibid.
He is solicited by his sister, Queen Anne, to change his religion - - - 454
A zealous Roman Catholic, he makes a matter of conscience of adhering to Popery, regardless of all political considerations 455
The Earl of Oxford, secretly a friend to the Protestant Succession, amuses the Jacobites, under various pretences 456
The peace of Utrecht generally disliked by the people of England, and particular exception taken against the eighth and ninth articles in the Treaty of Commerce with France 457
Purport of those articles - 458
The Whigs solicit the Elector of Hanover to come over in person, or to send the Electoral Prince, his son, into England - - 459

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1713 The Jacobites had formed a design of bringing over the Pretender - - 459

1714 The duke of Ormond and other adherents of the house of Stuart, vested with the command of the army 460

One hundred thousand pounds offered by Parliament for apprehending the Pretender, should he land in Great Britain 461

Oxford removed from the head of the treasury, because of the langour of his measures in favour of the excluded Prince 462

Death and character of Queen Anne - ibid.

George, Elector of Hanover, proclaimed King of Great Britain 464

His arrival, and the maxims of his policy - ibid.

He places the administration wholly in the hands of the Whigs ibid.

Committee of Secrecy, appointed to enquire into the negociations relative to the peace of Utretcht - 465

Lord Bolingbroke, the Earl of Oxford, and the duke of Ormond, impeached of high treason - - ibid.

Bolingbroke and Ormond abscond - ibid.

Oxford is committed to the Tower - ibid.

His manly behaviour, and masterly defence - 466

The Tories in general inclined to Jacobitism - 467

The heads of the party, both in England and Scotland, hold a secret correspondence with the Pretender ibid.

The French court declines taking any part in his affairs 468

Misconduct of the Duke of Ormond, who had undertaken to head the English Jacobites - - 469

He makes his escape into France - ibid.

Death and character of Lewis XIV. - 470

Duke of Orleans appointed regent during the minority of Lewis XV. - - ibid.

He affects privately to espouse the interests of the House of Stuart - - 471

1715 The Scottish Highlanders impatient to take up arms in support of the Pretender's cause - - ibid.

Account of those mountaineers - ibid.

The Highlanders value themselves on never having been subjected to the law of any conqueror - 472

Divided into a variety of tribes or Clans, under hereditary chiefs ibid.

The people of every Clan bear the name of their chief, and are supposed to be allied to him by blood - 473

The Highlanders habituated to the use of arms, by the perpetual wars between the Clans - ibid.

Their

A.D. Page
1715 Their weapons, and manner of fighting - 474
Their dreſs - - ibid.
They form a regular confederacy for the reſtoration of the family of Stuart - - 475
The Engliſh Jacobites, though leſs prepared, invite the Pretender to land in the neighbourhood of Plymouth 476
He takes meaſures for that purpoſe, in concert with the Duke of Ormond - - ibid.
The Earl of Mar ſets up the Pretender's ſtandard in the north of Scotland, and raiſes the Highlanders - 477
He makes himſelf maſter of almoſt all the country beyond the Forth - - - 478
The heads of the Engliſh Jacobites, taking into cuſtody, and the whole plan of the rebellion in the Weſt of England broken ib.
Inſurrection of the Jacobites in the North of England 479
Engliſh rebels joined by a body of Highlanders ibid.
Act without harmony or vigour, and are compelled to ſurrender at Preſton in Lancaſhire - 480
Progreſs of the rebellion in Scotland - 481
Battle of Sheriff Muir [Nov. 13.] - ibid.
The Highlanders break the left wing of the royal army - 482
The right wing of the King's forces, commanded by the Duke of Argyle, defeats the left of the rebels - ibid.
The Earl of Mar decamps in the night with the main body of the rebel army, and ruins by his miſconduct the affairs of the Pretender - - 483
Several Highland Chiefs declare for the eſtabliſhed government - - ibid.
The Clans diſperſe on the approach of winter - 484
The Pretender lands between Aberdeen and Inverneſs [Dec. 22.] ibid.
Finding his cauſe deſperate, he reimbarks at Montroſe ibid.
1716 The whole country ſubmits to the King's forces under the Duke of Argyle - - ibid.
Reflections on the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion 485
Rebel priſoners executed - - ibid.

LETTER XXV.

Ruſſia, Turkey, and the Northern Kingdoms, from the Defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa, in 1709, *to the Death of Peter the Great, in* 1725.

1709 Conqueſts of the Czar - - 486
Intrigues of the King of Sweden at the Court of Conſtantinople 487

CONTENTS.

A.D.		Page
1709	Generous maxim of the Turkish government in regard to the treatment of royal refuges	487
	Agreeable to this maxim, Charles XII. is accommodated with all things suitable to his rank	488
	He hopes to be soon able to lead a Turkish army against the Czar	ibid.
1710	The Grand Vizier gained by the money of Peter, makes the Sultan, Achmet III. lay aside all thoughts of a war with Russia	ibid.
	Through the intrigues of Poniatowsky, the friend of Charles, the Turkish minister is banished to Caffa in Crim Tartary	489
	The new Grand Vizier, Numan Kupruli, not more favourable to the views of the King of Sweden	490
	But supples him liberally with money, and advises him to return to his own dominions	ibid.
	Charles continues his intrigues, obstinately refusing to return without a Turkish army	ibid.
	Triumphal entry of Peter the Great into Moscow	491
	The Grand Vizier Kupruli dismissed, and the seal of the Ottoman Empire given to Baltagi Mahomet, Bashaw of Syria	492
	The Sultan, resolves upon a war with Russia, and orders Baltagi to assemble an army of two hundred thousand men	ibid.
	Russian ambassador committee to the Castle of the Seven Towers [Nov. 29]	493
	Origin of this practice of treating Christian ambassadors	ibid.
	Preparations of the Czar for commencing hostilities	494
1711	Turkish forces reviewed in the plains of Adrianople	495
	The Czar forms an alliance with Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia	ibid.
	He passes the Neister, and reaches the Northern banks of the Pruth	ibid.
	The Grand Vizier advances against him with an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men	496
	His perilous situation	ibid.
	Through the interposition of the Czarina, Catherine, he consents to a negociation	497
	Concludes a treaty with the Turks, and is permitted to retire with his army	498
	The King of Sweden arrives in the Turkish camp, as the Czar is marching off	499
	His rage at the treaty, and insolent behaviour to the Grand Vizier	ibid.

The

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

1711 The Grand Vizier, Baltagi, disgraced through the intrigues of Charles and Poniatowsky - - 500
The new Grand Vizier yet less disposed to favour the designs of the king of Sweden - - ibid.
1712 The Sultan, Achmet III. sends him a letter requiring his departure - - - ibid.
He evades the request, and continues his intrigues 501
Is desired to prepare instantly for his return home ibid.
He pleads the want of money to pay his debts - ibid.
Is furnished with twelve hundred purses, and demands more 502
1713 The Sultan's speech in the Divan on that subject ibid.
The Bashaw of Bender ordered to compel the king of Sweden to depart - - 503
Charles obstinately refuses, and prepares to defend himself, with three hundred Swedes, against an army of Turks and Tartars - - 504
His little camp is forced, and he is made prisoner ibid.
He still hopes, in his confinement, to return at the head of a Turkish army - - 505
Renews his intrigues, and keeps his bed fourteen months, under pretence of sickness - - 506
State of affairs in the king of Sweden's dominions 507
His General Steenbock defeats the Danes and Saxons ibid.
Burns Altena - - 508
His apology for so doing - - ibid.
Loses the fruits of his victory, and is obliged to take refuge in the Duchy of Holstein - - 509
Deplorable state of that Duchy - ibid.
Intrigues of the Baron de Goertz - 510
He forms the scheme of establishing a neutrality in the Swedish provinces of Germany - - ibid.
Progress of the arms of the Czar Peter - 511
1714 He gains a complete victory over the Swedes by sea, and makes himself master of the isle of Oeland - ibid.
Enters Petersburg in triumph, and makes on that occasion, a speech worthy of the founder of a great empire 512
Roused from his lethargy by the measures of the senate of Sweden, and despairing of being able to make the Porte take arms in his favour, Charles XII. signifies to the grand Vizier his desire of returning through Germany to his own dominions ibid.
Provided with a convoy of sixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horse, he arrives on the frontiers of Germany, whence

A.D. Page

whence he proceeds in disguise to Stralsund in Pomerania ibid.

1714 He immediately dispatches orders to his Generals, to renew the war against all his enemies with fresh vigour - 513

1715 The multitude of those enemies oppress him 514

The Prussians, Danes, and Saxons besiege Stralsund ibid.

They make themselves masters of the Isle of Usdome, and invade the Isle of Rugen - - 515

1716 Charles attempts to expel the invaders - 516

Is defeated and obliged to save himself by flight ibid.

He defends Stralsund with desperate valour 517

Finding it untenable, he is induced to quit it ibid.

The garrison capitulates [Dec. 17.] - ibid.

The Baron de Goertz becomes the prime minister and favourite of the king of Sweden - - 518

The king of Sweden, to the astonishment of all Europe, invades Norway, and makes himself master of Christiana ibid.

Meanwhile Wismar, the only town that remained to him on the frontiers of Germany, surrenders to the Danes and Prussians - - ibid.

New intrigues of the Baron de Goertz - 519

He is taken into custody in Holland, and Count Gillemburg, the Swedish ambassador is thrown into prison in England ibid.

1717 They are set at liberty - - ibid.

1718 Charles XII. undertakes a second expedition into Norway, and sits down before Frederickshall - 520

His death and character - - ibid.

The Senate of Sweden orders the Baron de Goertz to be arrested - - 521

He is condemned and executed for male-administration ibid.

1719 Ulrica Eleanora, sister of Charles XII. is elected Queen of Sweden - - 522

She relinquishes the crown to her husband, the Prince of Hesse, who is chosen king by the States - ibid.

1720 Tranquillity of the North restored by different treaties ibid.

1721 Peace between Sweden and Russia - 523

The Czar retains possession of the provinces of Livonia, Estonia, and Ingria, with part of Carelia, and part of Finland ibid.

Peter henceforth assumes the title of Emperor, which is acknowledged by all the European powers - ibid.

1722 His Persian expedition - - ibid.

The extent of his dominions - - ibid.

A. D.		Page
1722	He eſtabliſhes a board of trade, and encourages manufactures	524
	His wiſe regulations	ibid.
	General character, as a ſovereign	525
	Proceedings againſt his ſon, Alexis	ibid.
	Death of that Prince	526
	Inquiry concerning its cauſe	527
	Czar's Declaration	528
1725	Death of young Peter	ibid.
	——— of Peter the Great	529
	He is ſucceeded by the Empreſs, Catharine I.	ibid.
	His Panegyric in the form of an Epitaph	530

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

From the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648, to the PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

LETTER XII.

A general View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *with a particular Account of those of* ENGLAND, *from the Restoration of* CHARLES II. *in* 1660, *to the Triple Alliance, in* 1668.

NO prince ever had it more in his power to have rendered himself the favourite of his people, and his people great, flourishing, and happy, than Charles II. of England. They had generously restored him to the regal dignity, without imposing any new limitations on his prerogative. But their late violences, and the torrent of blood which had been shed, too strongly demonstrated their dread of popery, and their hatred of arbitrary sway, to permit a supposition, that they would ever tamely suffer

LETTER XII.
A.D. 1660.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA ... MAHAL.

PART II. A.D. 1661.

ſuffer any treſpaſs on their civil or religious liberties. If deſtitute of the ſenſe of juſtice or of gratitude, the imprudencies of his grandfather, the fatal cataſtrophe of his father, and ten years of excluſion, exile, and adverſity, were ſurely ſufficient to have taught him moderation; while the affectionate expreſſions of loyalty and attachment, which every where ſaluted his ears, demanded his moſt warm acknowledgments.

WITH loyalty, mirth and gaiety returned. That gloom which had ſo long overſpread the iſland, gradually diſappeared with thoſe fanatical opinions that produced it. And if the king had made a proper uſe of his political ſituation, and of thoſe natural and acquired talents which he ſo abundantly poſſeſſed, he might have held, with a high hand, the balance of Europe, and at the ſame time have reſtored the Engliſh nation (to uſe the memorable words of my lord Clarendon) to its *primitive temper* and *integrity*; to "its "old good manners, its old good humour, and its "old good nature." But an infatuated deſire of governing without controul, and alſo of changing the religion of the two Britiſh kingdoms, accompanied with a waſteful prodigality, which nothing could ſupply, loſt him by degrees the hearts of his ſubjects, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, and inſtead of the arbiter of Europe, made him a penſioner of France.

CHARLES was thirty years of age when he aſcended the throne of his anceſtors; and, conſidering his adverſe fortune, and the opportunities he had enjoyed of mingling with the world, might have been ſuppoſed to be paſt the levities of youth and the intemperance of appetite. But being endowed with a ſtrong conſtitution and a great flow of ſpirits, with a manly

manly figure and an engaging manner, animal love was ſtill his predominant paſſion, and amuſement his chief occupation. He was not, however, incapable of application to buſineſs, nor unacquainted with affairs either foreign or domeſtic; but having been accuſtomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers as a companion rather than a monarch, he loved to indulge, even after his reſtoration, in the pleaſures of diſengaged ſociety as well as of unreſtrained gallantry, and hated every thing that interfered with thoſe favourite avocations. His example was contagious: a groſs ſenſuality infected the court; and prodigality, debauchery, and irreligion, became the characteriſtics of the younger and more faſhionable part of the nation [1].

The king himſelf, who appears to have been little under the influence of either moral or religious principles, conſcious of his own irregularities, could eaſily forgive the deviations of others, and admit an excuſe for any ſyſtem of opinions. Hence he gained the profligate by indulgence, at the ſame time that he choſe to flatter, by attentions, the pride of religion and virtue. This accommodating character, which through his whole reign was Charles's chief ſupport, at firſt raiſed the higheſt idea of his judgment and impartiality. Without regard to former diſtinctions, he admitted into his council the moſt eminent men of all parties; the Preſbyterians equally with the Royaliſts ſhared this honour. Nor was he leſs impartial in the diſtribution of honours. Admiral Montague was not only created earl of Sandwich, aud Monk duke of Albemarle, promotions that might have been expected;

1. Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

 but

PART II. A. D. 1660. but Anneſley was created earl of Angleſey; Aſhley Cooper, lord Aſhley; and Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis.

WHATEVER might be the king's motive for ſuch a conduct, whether a deſire of laſting popularity, or merely of ſerving a temporary purpoſe, it muſt be allowed to have been truly political, as it contributed not only to baniſh the remembrance of paſt animoſities, but to attach the leaders of the Preſbyterians; who, beſide having a principal ſhare in the Reſtoration, were formidable by their numbers as well as by their property, and declared enemies to the Independents, and other republican ſectaries. But the choice which Charles made of his miniſters and principal ſervants more eſpecially prognoſticated future happineſs and tranquillity, and gave ſincere pleaſure to all the true friends of the conſtitution. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was made lord chancellor. He had been bred to the law, poſſeſſed great talents, was indefatigable in buſineſs, and very fit for the place of prime miniſter. The marquis, created duke of Ormond, leſs remarkable for his talents than his courtly accompliſhments, his honour, and his fidelity, was conſtituted ſteward of the houſhold; the earl of Southampton, a man of abilities and integrity, was appointed lord treaſurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas and Mr. Morrice ſecretaries of ſtate. The ſecretaries were both men of learning and virtue, but little acquainted with foreign affairs[2].

THESE miniſters entered into a free and open correſpondence with the leading members of both houſes; in conſequence of which the *Convention* (as the aſſembly that accompliſhed the Reſtoration had been hitherto called, by being ſummoned without the king's au-

2. Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

thority)

thority) received the name of a parliament. All juridical decrees, paſſed during the commonwealth or protectorſhip, were affirmed; and an act of indemnity was paſſed, conformable to the king's declaration from Breda. In that declaration Charles had wiſely referred all exceptions to the parliament, which excluded ſuch as had any immediate hand in the late king's death. Only ſix of the regicides, however, with four others, who had been abettors of their treaſon, were executed. The reſt made their eſcape, were pardoned, or confined in different priſons. They all behaved with great firmneſs, and ſeemed to conſider themſelves as martyrs to their civil and religious principles[3].

LETTER XII. A.D. 1660.

LAMBERT and Vane, though not immediately concerned in the late king's death, were alſo attainted. Lambert was pardoned, in conſequence of his ſubmiſſion; but Vane, on account of his preſumptuous behaviour during his trial, was executed[4]. The ſame lenity was extended to Scotland; where only the marquis of Argyle, and one Guthery, a ſeditious preacher, were executed. Argyle's caſe was thought peculiarly hard; but as Guthery had perſonally inſulted the king, as well as purſued a conduct ſubverſive of all legal authority, his fate was lamented only by the wildeſt fanatics[5].

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe expiatory ſacrifices, Charles's government was, for a time, remarkably mild and equitable. The firſt meaſure that excited any alarm was the act of uniformity.

HAD the convention-parliament, from a jealouſy of royal power, exacted any conditions from the king,

3. *State Trials*, vol. ii. 4. Id. ibid. 5. Burnet, ubi ſup.

PART II. A.D. 1660. on his reftoration, the eftablifhment of the Prefbyrian difcipline would certainly have been one of them; not only becaufe more favourable to civil liberty than epifcopacy, in the opinion of the people, but more conformable to the theological ideas of the greater number of the members. No fuch ftipulation, however, having been required, the church of England had good reafon to expect that the hierarchy would recover its ancient rights, and again appear with undiminifhed fplendour, as well as the monarchy. Charles, to whom the bufinefs of religion was wholly left, though inclined to revive epifcopacy, was at a lofs how to proceed. The Prefbyterians, from their recent fervices, had claims upon his gratitude, and the epifcopal clergy from their loyalty and former fufferings, in confequence of their attachment to the royal caufe. As he wifhed to gain all parties, by difobliging none, he conducted himfelf with great moderation. At the fame time that he reftored the ejected clergy, and ordered the Liturgy to be received into the churches, he iffued a declaration, in which he promifed, That the bifhops fhould all be regular and conftant preachers; that they fhould not confer ordination, or exercife any jurifdiction, without the advice and affiftance of Prefbyters, chofen by the diocefe; that fuch alterations fhould be made in the Liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; and that, in the meantime, the epifcopal mode of worfhip fhould not be impofed on thofe who were unwilling to receive it [6].

SUCH was the ftate of the church at the diffolution Dec. 29. of the convention-parliament; which, while it guarded the legal rights of the crown, lately fo violently in-

6. *Parl. Hift.* vol. xxiii.

vaded,

vaded, never loſt ſight of the liberty of the ſubject, but maintained the happy medium between high prerogative and licentious freedom. The new parliament was of a very different complexion. The royaliſts, ſeconded by the influence of the crown, had prevailed in moſt elections. Not above ſeventy members of the Preſbyterian party obtained ſeats in the houſe of commons; and theſe not being able either to oppoſe or retard the meaſures of the court, monarchy and epiſcopacy were now as much exalted as they had formerly been depreſſed.

LETTER XII.

A. D. 1661. May 8.

An act was immediately paſſed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, containing many ſevere clauſes; and as the biſhops, though reſtored to their ſpiritual authority, were ſtill excluded from parliament, in conſequence of a law paſſed by Charles I. immediately before the civil wars, that act was now repealed, and they were permitted to reſume their ſeats in the houſe of lords. But what moſt remarkably manifeſted the zeal of the parliament for the church and monarchy was the Act of Uniformity, and the repeal of the Triennial Act. Inſtead of the exact ſtipulations of the latter, a general clauſe provided, that parliaments ſhould not be interrupted above three years at moſt. By the Act of Uniformity it was required, that every clergyman, capable of holding a benefice, ſhould poſſeſs epiſcopal ordination; ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the Book of Common-Prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the Solemn League and Covenant, and renounce the principle of taking arms againſt the king, on any pretence whatſoever[7].

7. Id. Ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1662.

Thus was the church reinſtated in her former power and ſplendour; and as the old perſecuting laws ſubſiſted in their full rigour, and even new clauſes of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promiſes of toleration and indulgence to tender conſciences, in his declaration from Breda, were thereby eluded and broken. The more zealous of the Preſbyterian clergymen, however, reſolved to refuſe the ſubſcription, be the conſequences what they might; though there is no doubt but they flattered themſelves, that the biſhops would not dare to expel ſo great a number of the moſt popular preachers in the kingdom. But in this hope they were deceived. The church anticipating the pleaſure of retaliation, had made the terms of ſubſcription rigid, on purpoſe to diſguſt all the ſcrupulous Preſbyterians, and deprive them of their livings[8]; and the court beheld, with equal ſatiſfaction and aſtoniſhment, two thouſand of the clergy, in one day, relinquiſh their cures, and ſacrifice their intereſt to their religious opinions.

This meaſure, which united the Proteſtant diſſenters in a common hatred of the church, and rouſed in the church a ſpirit of intolerance and perſecution, was peculiarly impolitic and imprudent, as well as violent and unjuſt; more eſpecially as the opportunity ſeemed fair for taking advantage of the reſentments of the Preſbyterians againſt the republican ſectaries, and to draw them, without perſecuting the others, by the cords of love into the pale of the church, inſtead of driving them back by ſevere uſage into their ancient confederacies. A ſmall relaxation in the terms of communion would certainly have been ſufficient for that purpoſe. But

8. Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

the

the royal family and the Catholics, whofe influence was great at court, had other views, with which the nation was then unacquainted, and which it muft now be our bufinefs to unfold.

LETTER XII.

A.D. 1662.

CHARLES, during his exile, had not only imbibed ftrong prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion, but had even been fecretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome [9]. His brother, the duke of York, however, was a more fincere convert. James had zealoufly adopted all the abfurd and pernicious principles of popery; and as he had acquired a great afcendant over the king, by his talent for bufinefs, the feverities in the Act of Uniformity had been chiefly fuggefted by him and the earl of Briftol, alfo a zealous Catholic and a favourite at court. Senfible that undifguifed popery could claim no legal indulgence, they inflamed the church-party againft the Prefbyterians: they encouraged the Prefbyterians to ftand out; and when, in confequence of thefe artifices, they faw fo numerous and popular a body of the clergy ejected, they formed the plan of a general toleration, in hopes that the hated fect of the Catholics, might pafs unobferved in the crowd, and enjoy the fame liberty with the reft.

THE king, who had this meafure more at heart than could have been expected from his feeming indifference to all religions, accordingly iffued a declaration, under pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the Act of Uniformity. After mentioning the promifes of liberty of confcience contained in his declaration from Breda, he added, That although, in the firft place, he had been zealous to fettle the

9. Burnet, book i.

uniformity

PART II.
A.D. 1662.

uniformity of the church of England, which he ſhould ever maintain; yet in regard to the penalties upon thoſe who do not conform thereunto, through ſcruple of conſcience, but modeſtly and without ſcandal perform their devotions in their own way, he ſhould make it his ſpecial care, ſo far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline the members to concur with him in framing ſuch an act for that purpoſe, as might enable him to exerciſe with more univerſal ſatisfaction that diſpenſing power, which he conceived to be inherent in him [10]. The parliament however, alarmed at the idea of a *diſpenſing power* in the crown, and having a glimpſe of the object for which it was to be exerciſed, came to a reſolution, That the indulgence propoſed would prove moſt pernicious both to church and ſtate; would open a door to ſchiſm, encourage faction, diſturb the public peace, and diſcredit the wiſdom of the legiſlature [11]. And the court, having already gained ſo many points, judged it neceſſary to lay aſide for a time the project of toleration. In the mean time the ejected clergymen were proſecuted with unrelenting rigour; ſevere laws being enacted, not only againſt conventicles, but againſt any non-conforming teacher coming within five miles of a corporation.

THE Preſbyterians in Scotland did not experience more favour than thoſe in England. As Charles had made them no promiſes before his reſtoration, he reſolved to purſue the abſurd policy of his father and grandfather, of eſtabliſhing epiſcopacy in that kingdom. In this reſolution he was confirmed by his antipathy againſt the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics, on account of the inſults which he had received while

10. Kennet's *Regiſter*, p. 850. 11. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xxiii.

amongſt

A. D. 1662.

amongſt them. He therefore replied to the earl of Lauderdale, with more pertneſs than judgment, when preſſed to eſtabliſh preſbytery, that, "it was not a religion for a gentleman!" and he could not agree to its farther continuance in Scotland[12]. Such a reaſon might have ſuited a fop in his dreſſing-room, or a jolly companion over his bottle, but was very unworthy of the head of a great monarchy. The conſequences were ſuch as might have been foreſeen. A vaſt majority of the Scottiſh nation looked up with horror to the king and his miniſters, and expoſed themſelves to the moſt ſevere perſecutions rather than relinquiſh their form of worſhip[13].

CERTAIN political meaſures conſpired with thoſe of religion to diminiſh that popularity which the king had enjoyed at his reſtoration. His marriage with Catherine of Portugal, to which he was chiefly prompted by the largeneſs of her portion[14], was by no means agreeable to his ſubjects, who were deſirous, above all things, of his marrying a proteſtant princeſs. The ſale of Dunkirk to France, in order to ſupply his prodigality, occaſioned univerſal diſguſt[15]; and the Dutch war, in which he is ſaid to have engaged with a view of diverting part of the parliamen-

12. Burnet, vol. i. book ii. 13. Id. ibid.

14. He received with her five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, the ſettlement of Bombay in the Eaſt Indies, and the fortreſs of Tangier on the coaſt of Africa.

15. The ſale of Dunkirk, though ſtigmatized as one of the worſt meaſures of Charles's reign, was more blameable as a mark of meanneſs in the king than on account of its detriment to the nation. The charge of maintaining that fortreſs was very great, and the benefit ariſing from it ſmall. It had then no harbour to receive veſſels of burden; and Lewis XIV. who was a judge of ſuch acquiſitions, and who firſt made it a good ſea-port, thought he had made a hard bargain, when he paid four hundred thouſand pounds for it. *D'Eſtrades' Letters.*

tary

PART II. A.D. 1662. tary aids to the ſupply of his own profuſions, contributed ſtill farther to increaſe the public diſſatisfaction. The particulars of that war it muſt now be our buſineſs to relate.

THE reaſons aſſigned for commencing hoſtilities againſt the United Provinces were, the depredations committed by the ſubjects of that republic upon the Engliſh traders in different parts of the world. But, A.D. 1663. unfortunately for Charles, theſe depredations, though ſufficient to call up the keeneſt reſentment, had all preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed between England and the States. This circumſtance, however, was overlooked in the general jealouſy of the Hollanders; who, by their perſevering induſtry, as well as by other means, had of late greatly hurt the foreign trade of the Engliſh merchants. The king was reſolved on a war, from which, in conſequence of his ſuperior naval force, he hoped to derive vaſt advantages: and being warmly ſeconded in his views by the city and parlia- A.D. 1664. ment, ſir Robert Holmes was ſecretly diſpatched with a ſquadron to the coaſt of Africa; where he not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome pretenſions, but ſeized their ſettlements of Cape Verde and the iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral trading veſſels. Another ſquadron ſailed ſoon after to North America, with three hundred men on board, under the command of ſir Richard Nicholas, who took poſſeſſion of the Dutch ſettlement of Nova Belgia, afterward called New York, in honour of the duke, who had obtained a grant of it from his brother[16].

16. *King James's Memoirs.* This territory, as lying within the line of the Engliſh diſcoveries, had been formerly granted by James I. to the earl of Sterling; but it had never been planted, except by the Dutch.

SINCE

LETTER XII.

A.D. 1664.

Since the death of William II. prince of Orange, who attempted, as we have already feen, to encroach on the liberties of the republic of Holland, the Dutch, conformable to their perpetual edict, had elected no ftadtholder. The government had continued wholly in the hands of the Louveftein, or violent republican party, who were declared enemies againft the houfe of Orange. This ftate of the affairs of the United Provinces could not be very agreeable to the king of England, who muft naturally defire to fee his nephew, William III reinftated in that authority poffeffed by his anceftors. He is even fufpected of a defign, in conjunction with his brother, of rendering the young prince abfolute, and bringing the States to a dependence on England. Is it at leaft certain, that the famous John de Wit, penfionary of Holland, who was the foul of the republican party, and vefted with almoft dictatorial powers, afraid of fome fuch defign, had, foon after the Reftoration, entered into clofe alliance with France[17]. This has fince been thought bad policy: and it muft be owned, that De Wit's antipathy againft the family of Orange led him into meafures not always advantageous to his country; but it ought at the fame time to be remembered, that neither the genius of Lewis XIV. nor the refources of the French monarchy were then known.

De Wit, equally diftinguifhed by his magnanimity, ability, and integrity; and who knew how to blend the moderate deportment of the private citizen with the dignity of the minifter of ftate—de Wit, who had laid it down as a maxim, that no independent ftate ought ever tamely to fuffer any breach of equity from another, whatever their difparity in force, when

17. Bafnage, Temple. Burnet.

PART II. A.D. 1664. informed of the hoſtilities of England, did not heſitate a moment how to act. He immediately ſent orders to de Ruyter, who was cruiſing with a fleet in the Mediterranean, for the purpoſe of chaſtiſing the piratical ſtates of Barbary, to ſail toward the coaſt of Guinea, and put the Hollanders again in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſettlements from which they had been violently expelled. The Dutch admiral, who had a conſiderable body of land forces on board, recovered all the conqueſts of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Africa, except Cape Corſe-caſtle. He even diſpoſſeſſed them of ſome of their old ſettlements; and ſailing for America, he inſulted Barbadoes, committed hoſtilities on Long Iſland, and took a conſiderable number of ſhips[18].

A.D. 1665. A DECLARATION of war was the conſequence of theſe mutual hoſtilities, and both ſides prepared for the moſt vigorous exertions of their naval ſtrength. By the prudent management of de Wit, a ſpirit of union was preſerved among the States; great ſums were levied; and a navy, compoſed of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever before ſent to ſea, was ſpeedily equipped. Charles, who was perfectly acquainted with naval architecture, went himſelf from port to port, inſpecting the dock-yards, and haſtening the preparations. Sailors flocked from all quarters; and James duke of York, the king's brother, who had been originally deſigned for the head of the navy, and was now lord-high admiral of England, put to ſea with a fleet of an hundred ſail, beſides fire ſhips and bomb-ketches, and ſtood for the coaſt of Holland. Prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich commanded under him. The Dutch fleet, of at leaſt equal force, was commanded by admiral Opdam, in conjunction with

18. Ibid.

Evertſon

LETTER XII. A. D. 1665.

Evertson and young Tromp, son to the famous admiral of that name, killed in the former war. They declined not the combat. The sea was smooth, and not a cloud to be seen in the sky. The duke of York, in the Royal Charles, bore down upon Opdam, and a furious battle began. The contest was continued for four hours with great obstinacy: at length Opdam's ship blew up; and the Dutch, discouraged by the awful fate of their admiral and his gallant crew, fled toward the Texel[19]. They lost near thirty ships, and their whole fleet might have been sunk or taken, had the English made a proper use of their victory. But unfortunately about midnight, orders were given to shorten sail[20]; so that, at morning, no hopes of overtaking the enemy remained. And thus was neglected an opportunity of destroying the naval force of the Dutch, which never returned in this, or in any succeeding war. The English lost only one ship. June 3.

THE joy arising from the duke of York's naval victory, so highly extolled by the adherents of the court, was much diminished by the breaking out of

19. *King James's Memoirs.*

20. These orders were given by one Bronker, a gentleman of the duke's bedchamber, while his master was asleep, and without his authority, if we believe the royal memorialist:—and his behaviour during the action leaves us no room to suppose he could be afraid of a beaten and flying enemy. But it is nevertheless well known, that the same man may be a hero at noon, and a coward at midnight. In a word, it is highly improbable that Bronker should dare to give such orders of himself; and although we know nothing positively to the contrary, we are informed by Burnet, that the duke seemed very much struck when, understanding he was likely to come up with the enemy, he was told by Pen, his captain, that he must "prepare for *better work* in the *next engagement*," as the Dutch always gather *courage* from *despair*. (*Hist. of his Own Times*, vol. i. book ii.) This information Burnet had from the earl of Montague, who was then a volunteer on board the duke's ship.

PART II. A.D. 1665.

the plague, which carried off near an hundred thousand persons in London in one year. The melancholy apprehensions occasioned by this calamity, added to the horrors of war, were increased by the prospect of new enemies. Lewis XIV. was obliged to assist the Dutch, in consequence of his alliance with de Wit and the States; and the king of Denmark, who was jealous of the naval power of England, engaged to furnish thirty ships in support of the same cause, for an annual subsidy of fifteen hundred thousand crowns[21]. De Wit, however, who was now blamed as the author of the war, did not trust to these alliances. He not only forwarded the naval preparations, but went on board the fleet himself; and so extensive was his genius, that he soon became as much master of sea affairs, as if he had been bred to them from his infancy. By his courage and capacity, he quickly remedied all the disorders occasioned by the late misfortune; infused new confidence into his party, and revived the declining valour of his countrymen[22].

In order to balance so formidable a combination, Charles attempted, but without success, to negociate an alliance with Spain. Conscious, however, that Lewis could have no serious purpose of exalting the power of Holland, and elated with recent success, he was not alarmed at the number of his enemies; though every shore was hostile to the English seamen, from the extremity of Norway to the coast of Bayonne. A formidable fleet of seventy-eight sail of the line, commanded by the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, seemed to justify the confidence of the king. But unfortunately this force was divided in the moment of

21. *Let. D'Estrades.* 22. Basnage.

danger.

danger. It having been reported, that the duke of Beaufort had entered the Channel, with a French fleet of forty ſail, prince Rupert was detached with twenty ſail to oppoſe him. Meanwhile the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety ſail, commanded by de Ruyter and Tromp, had put to ſea; and Albemarle, notwithſtanding his inferiority, raſhly fought an engagement[23]. But his valour atoned for his temerity. The battle that enſued is one of the moſt memorable in the annals of mankind; whether we conſider its duration, or the deſperate courage with which it was fought.

Four days did the combat rage, without any appearance of valour ſlackening on either ſide. The Dutch had the advantage in the action of the firſt day; yet Albemarle, in engaging de Ruyter, had ſhewed himſelf worthy of his former renown. Two Dutch admirals were ſlain, and three Engliſh ſhips taken. One Dutch ſhip was burnt. Darkneſs parted the combatants. Next morning the battle was renewed with redoubled fierceneſs; and the Dutch were ready to give way, when they were reinforced with ſixteen capital ſhips. The Engliſh now found that the moſt heroic valour cannot counterbalance the ſuperiority of numbers, againſt an enemy not defective either in courage or conduct. Albemarle, however, would yield to nothing but the interpoſition of night; and, although he had loſt no ſhips in this ſecond action, he found his force ſo much weakened, that he reſolved to take advantage of the darkneſs and retire. But the vigilance of the enemy, and the ſhattered condition of his fleet, prevented him from fully executing his deſign. Before morning, however, he was able to make ſome way; and it was four in the afternoon, before de

23. *Clarendon's Life. Contin. of Baker.*

PART II. A.D. 1666.

Ruyter could come up with him. His disabled ships were ordered to make all the sail possible, and keep a-head, while he himself closed the rear with sixteen of the most entire, and presented an undaunted countenance to the Hollanders. Determined to perish sooner than to strike, he prepared to renew the action. But as he was sensible the probability of success was against him, he declared to the earl of Ossory, son of the duke of Ormond, who was then on board with him, his intention to blow up his ship rather than fall into the hands of the enemy:—and that gallant youth applauded the desperate resolution. But fortune rescued both from such a violent death, at the same time that it saved the English navy. A fleet being descried before the action was renewed, suspense for a time restrained the rage of the combatants. One party concluded it to be the duke of Beaufort, the other Prince Rupert, and both rent the sky with their shouts. At length, to the unspeakable joy of the English, it was discovered to be the Prince. Night prevented an immediate renewal of the action, but next morning the battle raged with more intenseness than ever. Through the whole fourth day the contest remained doubtful; and toward evening both fleets, as if weary of carnage, retired under a thick fog to their respective harbours [24].

But the English admirals were men of too high valour to be satisfied with less than victory. While they sent the disabled ships to different docks to be refitted, they remained on board their own. The whole fleet was soon ready to put to sea, and a new engagement was eagerly sought. Nor was it long denied them. Ruyter and Tromp, with the Dutch

24. Basnage. Clarendon. Heath.

fleet,

fleet, consisting of about eighty sail, had posted themselves at the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of being joined by a French squadron, and of riding triumphant in the Channel. There they were descried by the English fleet under prince Rupert and Albemarle. The force on both sides was nearly equal. The Dutch bore toward the coast of Holland, but were closely pursued. At length they formed themselves in order of battle, and a terrible conflict ensued. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English white squadron, attacked the Dutch van with irresistible fury, and killed the three admirals who commanded it. Tromp engaged, and defeated sir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue; but unfortunately for his countrymen, by pursuing too eagerly, he was utterly separated from the Dutch centre, where his assistance was much wanted. Meanwhile de Ruyter, who occupied that dangerous station, maintained with equal conduct and courage the combat against the centre of the English fleet, commanded by Rupert and Albemarle. Overpowered by numbers, his high spirit was at last obliged to submit to a retreat, which he conducted with the greatest ability; yet could he not help exclaiming, in the agony of his heart, "My God! "what a wretch am I, to be compelled to submit to this "disgrace!—Among so many thousand bullets, is "there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" Tromp too, after all his success, was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of the English red and blue squadrons[25].

LETTER XII. A. D. 1666. July 19.

Though the loss sustained by the Dutch in this engagement was not very considerable, it occasioned great consternation among the provinces. The de-

25. Ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1666. feat of their fleet filled them with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions. Some of theſe were ſoon realized. The Engliſh, now abſolute maſters of the ſea, rode in triumph along the coaſt, and inſulted the Hollanders in their harbours. A ſquadron, under ſir Robert Holmes, entered the road of Vlie, and burnt two men of war and an hundred and forty rich merchantmen, together with the large village of Brandark; the whole damage being computed at ſeveral millions ſterling [26].

THE ſituation of de Wit was now truly critical. The Dutch merchants, uniting themſelves with the Orange faction, violently exclaimed againſt an adminiſtration, which, as they pretended, had brought diſgrace and ruin on their country. But the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit ſupported him under all his difficulties and diſtreſſes. Having quieted the provinces of Holland and Zealand, he gave himſelf little trouble about the murmurs of the reſt, as they contributed but little toward the public expence. The fleet of the republic was refitted in an incredibly ſhort time, and again ſent to ſea under de Ruyter; and the king of France, though pleaſed to ſee England and Holland weakening each other's naval force, haſtened the ſailing of the duke of Beaufort, leſt a ſecond defeat ſhould oblige his friend de Wit to abandon his dangerous ſtation [27]. Such a defeat would certainly have happened to one, if not to both fleets, had not a violent ſtorm obliged prince Rupert to retire into St. Helen's. While he remained there, repairing the damages he had ſuſtained, de Ruyter, who had taken ſhelter in the road of Boulogne, returned home

26. Clarendon. Heath. 27. Baſnage. Le Clerc.

with

with his fleet in a sickly condition. The duke of Beaufort, who came too late to form a junction with the Dutch admiral, passed both up and down the Channel without being observed by the English fleet; and Lewis XIV. anxious for the safety of his infant navy, which he had reared with much care and industry, dispatched orders to Beaufort to make the best of his way to Brest [28]. LETTER XII. A.D. 1666.

THE same storm which, by sea, prevented prince Rupert from annoying the French and Dutch fleets, promoted a dreadful calamity on land. A fire broke out, at one in the morning, in a baker's shop near London-bridge, and had acquired great force before it was observed. Sept. 2. The neighbouring houses were chiefly composed of wood; the weather had long been remarkably dry; the streets were narrow, and the wind blew violently from the east: so that the flames spread rapidly from house to house, and from street to street, till the whole city was in a blaze. Terror and consternation seized on the distracted inhabitants; who considered the conflagration, so fast following the plague, as another visitation from Heaven, on account of the crimes of the court; or as a conspiracy of the papists, in conjunction with France, for the extirpation of all true religion. Suspicions even extended to the royal family [29]. Three nights and three days did the flames rage with increasing fury: on the fourth day, the wind falling, the fire ceased in a manner as wonderful as its progress. Of twenty-six wards, into which the city was divided, fifteen were burnt down; four hundred streets and lanes, and thirteen

28. *Clarendon's Life. Contin. of Baker.* 29. Burnet, book ii.

PART II. A.D. 1666.

thousand houses were destroyed[30]. But this calamity, though severely felt at the time, has eventually contributed to the health, safety, and future conveniency of the inhabitants of London, by the judicious method observed in constructing the new buildings[31]; and, what is truly remarkable, it does not appear that, during the whole conflagration, one life was lost either by fire or otherwise.

THOUGH the most judicious historians leave us no room to suppose that either the catholics or the court had any concern in the fire of London, the very suspicion of such a conspiracy is a proof of the jealousy entertained of the measures of government. This jealousy was chiefly occasioned by the severities exercised against the Presbyterians and other non-conformists, who still composed the majority of the people of England; and by the secret favour shewn to the Catholics, who, though proscribed by many laws, seldom felt the rigour of any.

THE non-conformists in Scotland were, if possible, still more harshly treated. In consequence of the introduction of episcopacy, a mode of worship extremely obnoxious to the great body of the Scottish nation, three hundred and fifty parish churches had been at once declared vacant. New ministers were sought for all over the kingdom, and the churches filled with men of the most abandoned characters. No candidate was so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who were extremely devoted to

30. *King James's Mem.* *Clarendon's Life.* Burnet, ubi sup.

31. The streets were not only made wider, and more regular than formerly, but the houses were formed of less combustible materials, the use of lath and plaister being prohibited.

their

LETTER XII.
A. D. 1666.

their former teachers (men remarkable for the austerity of their manners and their fervour in preaching) could not conceal their indignation againſt theſe intruders, whoſe debaucheries filled them with horror. They followed the ejected clergymen to the woods and mountains, where multitudes aſſembled to liſten their pious diſcourſes; and while this pleaſure was allowed them, they diſcovered no ſymptoms of ſedition. But when the Scottiſh parliament, which was wholly under the influence of the court, framed a law againſt conventicles, ſimilar to that ſevere act paſſed in England, the people took the alarm:—and the cruelties and oppreſſions exerciſed in enforcing this law, at laſted rouſed them to rebellion [32].

THE inhabitants of the weſtern counties, where religious zeal has always been more ardent than in any other part of Scotland, roſe in arms, to the number of two thouſand, and renewed the Covenant. They conducted themſelves, however, in a harmleſs and inoffenſive manner, committing no kind of violence, nor extorting any thing by force; and they publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they profeſſed their loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the king, and only deſired the re-eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery and their former miniſters. As moſt of the gentlemen of their party in the Weſt, had been confined on ſuſpicion of an inſurrection, they marched toward Edinburgh, in hopes of being joined by ſome men of rank; but finding themſelves deceived, many diſperſed, and the reſt were marching back to their own country, when they were attacked

32. Not only ſuch as frequented conventicles were puniſhed to the utmoſt rigour of the law, but when it was found that the head of any family did not regularly go to church, ſoldiers were quartered upon him, till he paid a due attendance. Burnet, book ii.

PART II. A.D. 1666. Nov. 28.

by the king's forces, and routed at Pentland Hills. A confiderable number of prifoners were taken, and treated with great feverity: ten where hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors, in different parts of the country [33].

ALL thefe men might have faved their lives, if they would either have renounced the Covenant or difcovered any of their affociates; but, though moftly perfons of mean condition, they adhered inviolably to their faith and friendfhip. Maccail, one of their teachers, fuppofed to have been deep in the fecrets of his party, was put to the torture, in order to extort a confeffion, but without effect. He bore his fufferings with great conftancy; and expiring under them, feemed to depart in a tranfport of joy. "Farewell fun, "moon, and ftars," faid he;—"farewell kindred and "friends; farewell weak and frail body; farewell "world and time: welcome eternity, welcome an-"gels and faints, welcome Saviour of the world, and "welcome God the judge of all [34]!" Thefe words he uttered with a voice and manner that made a great impreffion upon all that heard him, and contributed not a little to inflame the zeal of his partizans. Conventicles continued to be attended in defiance of all the rigours of government, though thefe were extended to a degree of feverity that was difgraceful to humanity.

THE ftate of Ireland was no lefs deplorable than that of Scotland; but the miferies of the Irifh proceeded from other caufes. Thofe it muft now be our bufinefs to trace.

CROMWELL having expelled, without diftinction, all the native Irifh from their three principal provinces

33. Burnet, vol. i. book ii. 34. Id. ibid.

Munfter,

Munſter, Leinſter, and Ulſter, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare. And although thoſe who had thus been expelled were generally Catholics, many of them were altogether innocent of the maſſacre which had drawn ſo much odium on their countrymen of that religion. Several Proteſtants too, and the duke of Ormond among the reſt, who had uniformly oppoſed the Iriſh rebellion, were alſo attainted, becauſe they had afterward embraced the king's cauſe againſt the parliament. To all theſe unhappy ſufferers, ſome relief ſeemed due after the Reſtoration; but the difficulty was, how to find the means of redreſſing ſuch great and extenſive grievances.

The moſt valuable lands in Ireland had been already meaſured out and divided, either among the adventurers who had lent money to the parliament for the ſuppreſſion of the popiſh conſpiracy, or among the ſoldiers who had accompliſhed that buſineſs. Theſe men could not be diſpoſſeſſed; becauſe they were the moſt powerful, and only armed part of the inhabitants of Ireland; becauſe it was neceſſary to favour them, in order to ſupport the Proteſtant and Engliſh intereſt in that kingdom; and becauſe they had generally, with ſeeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the king's Reſtoration. Charles, therefore, iſſued a proclamation, in which he promiſed to maintain their ſettlement: and he at the ſame time engaged to yield redreſs to the innocent ſufferers [35].

There was a conſiderable quantity of land ſtill undivided in Ireland; and from this and other funds, it was thought poſſible for the king to fulfil his engagements, without diſturbing the preſent landholders. A

35. Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vii.

Court

PART II.
A.D. 1666.

Court of Claims was accordingly erected, consisting altogether of English commissioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties into which Ireland was divided; and the duke of Ormond, being supposed the only person whose prudence and justice could compose such jarring interests, was created lord-lieutenant. The number of claims presented spread universal anxiety and alarm; but after a temporary ferment, all parties seemed willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order to obtain stability. Ormond interposed his authority to that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a fourth of their possessions: all those who had been attainted on account of their adherence to the king were restored, and some of the innocent Catholics[36].

In consequence of this settlement, Ireland began to acquire a degree of composure, when it was disturbed by an impolitic act, passed by the English parliament, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England. Ormond remonstrated strongly against that law. He said, that the trade then carried on between England and Ireland was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only provisions, or rude materials, in return for every species of manufacture; that if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that island had no other commodity with which they could pay England for their importations, and must therefore have recourse to other nations for a supply; that the industrious part of the inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish provisions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby

36. Id. ibid.

render

render their manufactures too dear to be exported with advantage to foreign markets[37]. LETTER XII.

The king was so well convinced of the force of these arguments, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill, and declared that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the commons were obstinate, and Charles was in want of supply: he was therefore impelled by his fears of a refusal to pass it into a law[38]. The event, however, justified the reasoning of Ormond. This severe law brought great distress upon Ireland for a time; but it has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom, and hurtful to England, by obliging the Irish to apply with more industry to manufactures, and to cultivate a commercial correspondence with France. A. D. 1667. Jan. 18.

These grievances and discontents in all the three kingdoms, and the little success in a war from which the greatest advantages were expected, induced the king to turn his thoughts toward peace. The Dutch, whose trade had suffered extremely, were no less disposed to such a measure; and after some ineffectual conferences, held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, it was agreed to transfer the negociation to Breda. The English ambassadors, lord Hollis and Henry Coventry, immediately desired, that a suspension of hostilities should be agreed to, until the several claims could be adjusted; but this proposal, seemingly so natural, was rejected through the influence of the penetrating de Wit. That able and active minister, perfectly acquainted with the characters of the contending princes, and with the situation of affairs in Europe, had discovered an opportunity of striking a

37. Carte, ubi sup. 38. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxiii.

blow,

PART I. A. D. 1667. blow, which might at once reſtore to the Dutch the honour loſt during the war, and ſeverely revenge thoſe injuries which he aſcribed to the wanton ambition and injuſtice of the Engliſh monarch.[39]

THE expence of the naval armaments of England had been ſo great, that Charles had not hitherto been able to convert to his own uſe any of the money granted him by parliament. He therefore reſolved to ſave, as far as poſſible, the laſt ſupply of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds, for the payment of his debts. This ſum, which was thought by his wiſeſt miniſters too ſmall to enable him to carry on the war with vigour, afforded the profuſe and needy monarch a pretence for laying up his firſt and ſecond rate ſhips. Nor did that meaſure appear highly reprehenſible, as the immediate proſpect of peace ſeemed ſufficient to free the king from all apprehenſions of danger from his enemies. But de Wit, who was informed of this ſupine ſecurity, protracted the negociations at Breda, and haſtened the naval preparations of Holland. The Dutch fleet under de Ruyter, took poſſeſſion of the mouth of the Thames; while a ſquadron commanded by Van Ghent, aſſiſted by an eaſt wind and a ſpring tide, after reducing Sheerneſs, broke a chain which had been drawn acroſs the river Medway, and deſtroyed three ſhips ſtationed to guard it; advanced as far as Chatham, and burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all firſt rates, and carried off the hull of the Royal Charles[40].

June 10.

THE deſtruction of the ſhips at Chatham threw the city of London into the utmoſt conſternation.

39. Baſnage. 40. *Clarendon's Life. King James's Mem.* Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, periſhed in the flames, though he had an eaſy opportunity of eſcaping. "Never was it known," ſaid he, "that a Douglas quitted his poſt without orders!" Temple, vol. ii.

LETTER XII.

A.D. 1667.

It was apprehended the Dutch would next ſail up the Thames, and that they might carry their hoſtilities even as far as London-bridge. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, five at Blackwall; platforms were built in many places, furniſhed with artillery; the country was armed, and the train-bands of the city were called out. Theſe precautions, and the difficult navigation of the Thames, induced de Ruyter to ſteer his courſe to the weſtward. He made a fruitleſs attempt upon Portſmouth, and alſo on Plymouth; he returned to the mouth of the Thames, where he was not more ſucceſsful; but he rode triumphant in the Channel for ſeveral weeks, and ſpread univerſal alarm along the coaſt [41].

These fears, however, were ſoon diſpelled by the ſigning of the treaty at Breda. In order to facilitate that meaſure, ſo neceſſary in his preſent diſtreſſed ſituation, Charles had inſtructed his ambaſſadors to recede from thoſe demands which had hitherto obſtructed the negociation. No mention was now made of the reſtitution of the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies, which had been formerly inſiſted on; nor was any ſatisfaction required for thoſe depredations, which had been aſſigned as the cauſe of the war. England, however, retained poſſeſſion of New York; and the Engliſh ſettlement of Surinam, which had been reduced by the Dutch, was ceded to the republic [42]. July 10.

But this pacification, though it removed the apprehenſions of danger, by no means quieted the diſcontents of the people. All men of ſpirit were filled with indignation at the improvidence of government, and at the avarice, meanneſs, and prodigality of the king, who in order to procure money to ſquander upon

41. Id. ibid. 42. Clarendon, ubi ſup.

his

PART II. A.D. 1667.

his pleasures, had left his kingdom exposed to insult and disgrace. In a word, the shameful conclusion of the Dutch war, totally dispelled that delirium of joy, which had been occasioned by the Restoration; and the people, as if awaking from a dream, wondered why they had been pleased.

CHARLES, who amid all his dissipations possessed, and even employed a considerable share of political sagacity, as well as address, resolved to attempt the recovery of his popularity, by sacrificing his minister to the national resentment. The plan in part succeeded, as it seemed to indicate a change of measures, at the same time that it presented a grateful offering to an offended people.

THOUGH the earl of Clarendon had for some time lost the confidence of his sovereign, by the austerity of his manners, and the severity of his remonstrances, he was still considered by the public as the head of the cabinet, and regarded as the author of every unpopular measure since the Restoration. The king's marriage, in which he had merely acquiesced; the sale of Dunkirk, to which he had only given his assent, as one of the council; the Dutch war, which he had opposed; and all the persecuting laws against the different sectaries, were universally ascribed to him. The Catholics knew him to be the declared enemy of their principles, both civil and religious: so that he was exposed, one way or other, to the hatred of every party in the nation. This general odium afforded the king a pretence for depriving him of the seals, and dismissing him from his councils; and the parliament, to whom Charles ungenerously gave the hint, first impeached, and then banished him.

him[43]. Confcious of his own innocence, and unwilling to difturb the tranquillity of the ftate, the chancellor made no defence, but quietly fubmitted to his fentence. And this cruel treatment of fo good a minifter, by a kind of tacit combination of prince and people, is a ftriking example of the ingratitude of the one, and of the ignorance and injuftice of the other; for if Clarendon was not a great, he was at leaft an upright, and even an able ftatefman. He was, to ufe the words of his friend Southampton, "a true "Proteftant, and an honeft Englifhman;" equally attentive to the juft prerogatives of the crown, and to the conftitutional liberties of the fubject, whatever errors he might be guilty of either in foreign or domeftic politics.

THE king's next meafure, namely the Triple Alliance, was no lefs popular, and more deferving of praife. But before I fpeak of that alliance, we muft take a view of the ftate of France and Spain.

LEWIS XIV. who affumed the reins of government nearly at the fame time that Charles II. was reftored to the throne of his anceftors, poffeffed every quality that could flatter the pride, or conciliate the affections of a vain-glorious people. The manly beauty of his perfon, in which he furpaffed all his courtiers, was embellifhed with a noble air; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politenefs; and if he was not the greateft king, he was at leaft, to ufe the words of my lord Bolingbroke, "the beft actor of majefty that ever filled a "throne[44]." Addicted to pleafure, but decent even

43. *King James's Memoirs. Clarendon's Life.* 44. *Letters on the Study and Ufe of Hiftory*

PART II. A.D. 1667.

in his ſenſualities, he ſet an example of elegant gallantry to his ſubjects; while he elated their vanity, and gratified their paſſion for ſhew, by the magnificence of his palaces and the ſplendour of his public entertainments. Though illiterate himſelf, he was a munificent patron of learning and the polite arts; and men of genius, not only in his own kingdom, but all over Europe, experienced the foſtering influence of his liberality.

Dazzled with the luſtre of ſo many ſhining qualities, and proud to participate in the glory of their young ſovereign, the French nation ſubmitted without murmuring to the moſt violent ſtretches of arbitrary power. This ſubmiſſive loyalty, combined with the ambition of the prince, the induſtry and ingenuity of the people, and her own internal tranquillity, made France, which had long been diſtracted by domeſtic factions, and overſhadowed by the grandeur of the Spaniſh monarchy, now appear truly formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms. Colbert, an able and active miniſter, had put the finances into excellent order; enormous ſums were raiſed for the public ſervice; a navy was created, and a great ſtanding army ſupported, without being felt by that populous and extenſive kingdom.

Conscious of his power and his reſources, the French monarch had early given ſymptoms of that haughty ſpirit, that reſtleſs ambition, and inſatiable thirſt of glory, which ſo long diſturbed the peace of Europe. A quarrel having happened, in London, between the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, on account of their claims to precedency, Lewis threatened to commence hoſtilities, unleſs the ſuperiority of his crown was acknowledged;

LETTER XII.

A. D. 1667.

ledged; and was not ſatisfied till the court of Madrid ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Paris, and promiſed never more to revive ſuch claims. His treatment of the pope was ſtill more arrogant. Crequi, the French ambaſſador at Rome, having met with an affront from the guards of Alexander VII. that pontiff was obliged to puniſh the offenders, to ſend his nephew into France to aſk pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itſelf, as a monument of his own humiliation. Nor did England eſcape experiencing the lofty ſpirit of Lewis. He refuſed to pay the honours of the flag; and prepared himſelf with ſuch vigour for reſiſtance, that the too eaſy Charles judged it prudent to deſiſt from his pretenſions. "The king of England," ſaid he, to his ambaſſador d'Eſtrades, "may know the amount of my force, but he knows not the elevation of my mind. Every thing appears to me contemptible in compariſon of glory [45]."

These were ſtrong indications of the character of the French monarch, but the firſt meaſure that gave general alarm was the invaſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands.

Though Lewis XIV. by the treaty of the Pyrenees, had ſolemnly renounced all title to the ſucceſſion of any part of the Spaniſh dominions, which might occur in conſequence of his marriage with the infanta Maria Thereſa, he had ſtill kept in view, as a favourite object, the eventual ſucceſſion to the whole of that monarchy; and on the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. he retracted his renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and ſucceſſion, could not be annihilated by any extorted

45. *D'Eſtrades Letters.*

PART II. A.D. 1667.

deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles II. of Spain, a sickly infant, whose death was daily expected; but as the queen of France was the offspring of a prior marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy to the exclusion even of her brother. This claim was founded on a custom in some parts of Brabant, where a female of a first marriage was preferred to a male of a second, in the succession to private inheritances; and from which Lewis inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the sovereignty of that important duchy.

SUCH an ambitious claim was more fit to be adjusted by military force than by argument; and, in that kind of dispute, the king of France was sensible of his superiority. He had only to contend with a weak woman, Mary Anne of Austria, queen-regent of Spain, who was entirely governed by father Nitard, her confessor, a German Jesuit, whom she had placed at the head of her councils, after appointing him grand inquisitor. The ignorance and arrogance of this priest are sufficiently displayed in his well known reply to the duke of Lerma, who had treated him with disrespect: "You ought to revere the man," said he, "who has every day your God in his hands, and "your queen at his feet [46]."

FATHER Nitard and his mistress had left the Spanish monarchy defenceless in every quarter. But had the towns in the Low Countries been more strongly garrisoned, and the fortifications in better repair, the king of France was prepared to overcome all difficulties. He entered Flanders at the head of forty thou-

46. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. vii.

sand

ſand men: Turenne commanded under him; and Louvois, his miniſter for military affairs, had placed large magazines in all the frontier towns. The Spaniards, though appriſed of their danger, were in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force. Charleroy, Athe, Tournay, Furnes, Armentiers, Coutray, and Douay, immediately ſurrendered; and Liſle, though well fortified, and furniſhed with a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, capitulated after a ſiege of nine days. Louvois advisſed the king to leave garriſons in all theſe towns, and the celebrated Vauban was employed to fortify them[47].

LETTER XII.

A. D. 1667.

Aug. 27.

A PROGRESS ſo rapid filled Europe with terror and conſternation. Another campaign, it was ſuppoſed, might put Lewis in poſſeſſion of all the Low Countries. The Dutch were particularly alarmed at the proſpect of having their frontier expoſed to ſo powerful and ambitious a neighbour. But, in looking around them, they ſaw no means of ſafety: for although the emperor and the German princes diſcovered evident ſymptoms of diſcontent, their motions were ſlow and backward; and no dependence, the States thought, could be placed on the variable and impolitic councils of the king of England. Contrary to all expectation, however, the Engliſh monarch reſolved to take the firſt ſtep toward a confederacy, which ſhould apparently have for its object the reſtraining of the power, and the ambitious pretenſions of France.

SIR William Temple, the Engliſh reſident at Bruſſels, received orders to go ſecretly to the Hague for

A.D. 1668

47 Id. ibid. The citadel of Liſle was the firſt fort conſtructed according to his new principles.

PART II. A.D. 1668.

this purpose. Frank, open, sincere, and superior to the little arts arts of vulgar politicians, Temple met in de Wit with a man of the same generous sentiments and honourable views. He immediately disclosed his master's intentions; and, although jealousy of the family of Orange might inspire de Wit with an aversion against a strict union with England, he patriotically resolved to sacrifice every private consideration to the public safety. Lewis, dreading a general combination, had offered to relinquish all his queen's rights to Brabant, on condition either of keeping the conquests he had made last campaign, or of receiving instead of them Franche-Compte, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon that proposal: they agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and to oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept it[48]. A defensive alliance was at the same time concluded between England and Holland; and room being left for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained, that kingdom also became a principal in the treaty.

THIS alliance, which has always been considered as the wisest measure in the disgraceful reign of Charles II. restored England to her proper station in the scale of Europe, and highly exalted the consequence of Holland. Yet it is somewhat surprising, that the same confederacy which was concerted to put a stop to the conquests of Lewis XIV. did not also

48. Temple at first insisted on an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquish all her conquests; but this de Wit considered as too strong a measure to be agreed to by the States. The French monarch, he said, was young, haughty, and powerful: and if treated in so mperious a manner, would expose himself to the greatest extremitiesr ther than submit. *Temple's Memoirs*, part i.

require

require a poſitive renunciation of his unjuſt pretenſions to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; for if his former renunciations were no bar to the ſuppoſed rights accruing to Maria Thereſa, his queen, on the death of her father, Philip IV. they could be none to the rights that would accrue to her and her children on the death of her brother Charles, whoſe languiſhing ſtate of health left no room to hope that he could ever live to have offspring. But our ſurpriſe on this account ceaſes, when we are told, that the king of England was actuated by no views of general policy; that to acquire a temporary popularity with his ſubjects, to ruin de Wit, by detaching him from France; and, in conſequence of his fall, to raiſe the family of Orange, were Charles's only motives for ſtanding forth as the head of the Triple Alliance [49]. It gave however, at the time, great ſatisfaction to the contracting powers, and filled the negociators with the higheſt joy. "At Breda, as friends!"—cried Temple;—"here as brothers!" and de Wit added, that now the buſineſs was finiſhed, it looked like a miracle [50]. LETTER XII. A.D. 1668.

France and Spain were equally diſpleaſed at the terms of this treaty. Lewis was enraged to find limits ſet to his ambition; for although his own offer was made the baſis of the league, that offer had only been thrown out, in order to allay the jealouſy of the neighbouring powers, and to keep them in a ſtate of inaction, till he had reduced the whole ten provinces of the Low Countries. Spain was no leſs diſſatisfied at the thought of being obliged to give up ſo many important places, on account of ſuch unjuſt claims

49. *Mem. de Gourville*, tom. ii. See alſo Macpherſon's *Hiſt. of Britain*, vol. i. and Dalrymple's *Append.* 50. *Temple's Mem.* part I.

PART II. A. D. 1668.

and unprovoked hostilities. At length, however, both agreed to treat, and the plenipotentiaries of all the parties met at Aix-la-Chapelle; where Spain, from a consciousness of her own weakness, accepted of the alternative offered by France, but in a way that occasioned general surprise, and gave much uneasiness to the Dutch. Lewis, under pretence of enforcing the peace, had entered Franche-Comté in the month of February, and reduced the whole province in a few weeks. Spain chose to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign [51]; so that the French monarch still extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries, and but a slender barrier remained to the United Provinces. But as the Triple League guarantied the remaining provinces of Spain, and the emperor and the German princes, whose interests appeared to require its support, were invited to enter into the same confederacy, Lewis, it was thought, could entertain no views of prosecuting his conquests in the quarter which lay most exposed to his ambition.

OTHER circumstances seemed to combine to ensure the balance of Europe. After a ruinous war of almost thirty years, carried on by Spain, in order to recover the sovereignty of Portugal, and attended with various success, an equitable treaty had at last been concluded between the two crowns, in consequence of which the independency of Portugal was acknowledged [52]. Being now free from so formidable a foe,

51. Id. ibid.

52. This treaty, which was concluded through the mediation of the king of England, and to which a body of English troops had greatly contributed by their valour, was partly connected with a very singular revolution.

LETTER XII. A.D. 1668.

a foe, Spain might be expected to exert more vigour in defence of her possessions in the Low Countries; and the satisfaction expressed in England on account of the late treaty, promised the most hearty concurrence of the parliament in every measure that should be proposed for confining the dangerous greatness of France.

But the bold ambition of Lewis XIV. aided by the pernicious policy of the faithless Charles, soon broke through all restraints; and, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, set at defiance more formidable confederacies than the Triple Alliance.

revolution. Alphonso VI. (son of the famous duke of Braganza, who had encouraged the Portuguese to shake off the Spanish yoke, and who was rewarded with the crown) a weak and profligate prince, had offended his subjects by suffering himself to be governed by the mean companions of his pleasures. His queen, daughter of the duke of Nemours, attracted by the more agreeable qualities of his brother, Don Pedro, forsook his bed, and fled to a monastery. She accused him of debility both of body and mind, sued for a divorce, and put herself, in the mean time, under the protection of the church. A faction seized the wretched Alphonso, who was confined in the island of Tercera; while his brother, who immediately married the queen, was declared regent of the kingdom in the assembly of the States. (Vertot *Hist. de la Revol. du Port.*) Don Pedro, a prince of abilities, was preparing to assert with vigour the independency of his country, when it was established by treaty in the beginning of the year 1668.

PART II.
A.D. 1668.

LETTER XIII.

The General View of the Affairs of EUROPE *continued, from the Treaty of* AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, *in* 1668, *to the Peace of* NIMEGUEN, in 1678.

AS the moſt trivial cauſes frequently produce the greateſt events, in like manner, my dear Philip, the ſlighteſt circumſtances are often laid hold of by ambition, as a pretext for its devaſtations—for deluging the earth with blood, and trampling upon the rights of mankind. Though Lewis XIV. was highly incenſed at the republic of Holland, for pretending to preſcribe limits to his conqueſts, and had reſolved upon revenge; yot his reſentment ſeems to have been more particularly rouſed by the arrogance of Van Beuninghen, the Dutch ambaſſador. This republican, who although but a burgomaſter of Amſterdam, poſſeſſed the vivacity of a courtier and the abilities of a ſtateſman, took a peculiar pleaſure in mortifying the pride of the French monarch, when employed in negociating the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. "Will you "not truſt to the king's word?"—ſaid M. de Lionne to him in a conference. "I know not what the king "will do," replied he:—"but I know what he can "do[1]." A medal is alſo mentioned, though ſeemingly without foundation, on which Van Beuninghen (his Chriſtian-name being *Joſhua)* was repreſented, in alluſion to the ſcripture, as arreſting the *Sun* in his courſe:—and the ſun was the device choſen for Lewis XIV. by his flatterers[2]! It is certain, however, that the States ordered a medal to be ſtruck, on which, in a pompous inſcription, the republic is ſaid to have

1. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. viii. 2. Ibid. chap. ix.

conciliated

conciliated kings, and reftored tranquillity to Europe.

LETTER XIII.

A.D. 1668.

These were unpardonable affronts in the eyes of a young and haughty monarch, furrounded by minions and miftreffes, and ftimulated by an infatiable thirft of glory. But whilft Lewis was making preparations for chaftifing the infolence of the Dutch, or rather for the conqueft of Holland, his love of fame was attracted by a new object, and part of his forces employed againft an enemy more deferving the indignation of the *Moft Chriftian* King.

The Turks, after a long interval of inaction, were again become formidable to Europe. The grand vizier, Kupruli, who at once directed the councils and conducted the armies of the Porte, had entered Hungary at the head of an hundred thoufand men, in 1664; and although he was defeated, in a great battle, near St. Godard upon the Raab, by the imperial troops, under the famous Montecuculi, the Turks obtained a favourable peace from Leopold, who was threatened with a revolt of the Hungarians. The Hungarian nobles, whofe privileges had been invaded by the emperor, flew to arms, and even craved the affiftance of the Turks, their old and irreconcilable enemies. The rebels were quickly fubdued by the vigour of Leopold. But the body of that brave people who had fo often repelled the infidels, and tilled, with the fword in their hand, a country watered with the blood of their anceftors, were ftill diffatisfied; and Germany itfelf, deprived of fo ftrong a barrier as Hungary, was foon threatened by the Turks.

In the mean time Kupruli turned the arms of the Porte againft the Venetians; and an army of fixty thoufand

PART II. A.D. 1668. thouſand Janizaries, under that able and experienced general, had now beſieged Candia for upward of two years. But the time of the Cruſades was long paſt, and the ardour which inſpired them extinguiſhed. Though this iſland was reputed one of the chief bulwarks of Chriſtendom againſt the infidels, no general confederacy had been formed for its defence. The pope and the knights of Malta were the only allies of the Venetians againſt the whole naval and military force of the Ottoman empire. At length, however, Lewis XIV. whoſe love of glory had made him aſſiſt the emperor againſt the Turks even in Hungary, ſent A.D. 1669. a fleet from Toulon to the relief of Candia, with ſeven thouſand men on board, under the duke of Beaufort. But as no other Chriſtian prince imitated his example, theſe ſuccours ſerved only to retard the conqueſt of that important iſland. The duke of Beaufort was ſlain in a ſally; and the capital being reduced Sept. 16. to a heap of ruins, ſurrendered to Kupruli[3]. The Turks, during this ſiege, diſcovered great knowledge of the military art; and Moroſini, the Venetian admiral, and Montbrun, who commanded the troops of the republic, made all the exertions, and took advantage of all the circumſtances, that ſeemed poſſible for valour and conduct, in oppoſition to ſuch ſuperior armaments.

These diſtant operations did not a moment divert the attention of Lewis from his favourite project, the conqueſt of the Low Countries, which he meant to reſume with the invaſion of Holland. But, in order to render that project ſucceſsful, it ſeemed neceſſary to detach England from the Triple Alliance. This was no difficult matter.

3. Voltaire, ubi ſup. Henault, 1669.

Since

A.D. 1669.

SINCE the exile of Clarendon, which had been preceded by the death of Southampton, and was soon followed by that of Albemarle, Charles II. having no man of principle to be a check upon his conduct, had given up his mind entirely to arbitrary counsels. These counsels were wholly directed by five persons, commonly denominated the CABAL, in allusion to the initial letters of their names; Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale: all men of abilities, but destitute of either public or private virtue. They had flattered Charles in his desire of absolute power, and encouraged him to hope that he might accomplish it by a close connexion with France[4]. Lewis, they said, if gratified in his ambition, would be found both able and willing to defend the common cause of kings against usurping subjects; that the conquest of the United Provinces, undertaken by two such potent monarchs, would prove an easy enterprise, and effectually contribute to the attainment of the great purpose desired; that, under pretence of the Dutch war, the king might levy a military force, without which he could never hope to maintain, or enlarge his prerogative; and that, by subduing the republic of Holland, a great step would be made toward a desirable change in the English government; as it was evident the fame and grandeur of that republic fortified his majesty's factious subjects

4. Charles's desire of absolute power seems to have proceeded more from a love of ease, and an indolence of temper, than from any inclination to oppress his subjects. He wished to be able to raise the necessary supplies without the trouble of managing the parliament. But as his profusion was boundless, and his necessities in consequence of it very great, it may be questioned whether, if he had accomplished his aim, he would not have loaded his people with taxes beyond what they could easily bear. At any rate, the attempt was atrocious; was treason against the constitution, and ought to be held in eternal detestation.

in

PART II. A. D. 1669.

in their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties [5].

But although such were the views of the king, and such the sentiments of his ministers, so conscious was Charles of the criminality of the measures he meant to pursue, that only two of the unprincipled members of the Cabal were thought fit to be trusted with his whole scheme; Clifford and Arlington, both secretly Roman Catholics [6]. By the counsels of these men, in conjunction with the duke of York and some other Catholics, was concluded at Paris, by the lord Arundel of Wardour, a secret treaty with France; in which it was agreed, not only that Charles should co-operate in the conquest of the Low Countries, and in the destruction of Holland, but that he should propagate, to the utmost of his power, the Catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly declare himself a convert to that religion [7]. In consideration of this last article, he was to receive from Lewis the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and a body of troops, in case the change of his religion should occasion a rebellion in England; and, by another article, a large annual subsidy was to be paid him, in order to enable him to carry on the war, without the assistance of parliament [8].

On purpose to concert measures conformable to this alliance, and to conceal from the world, and even from the majority of the Cabal, the secret treaty with France, a pompous farce was acted, and an im-

5. Boling. *Stud. Hist.* Hume, vol. viii. 6. *King James's Memoirs.*

7. The time when this declaration should be made, was left to Charles; who, at the prospect of being able to reunite his kingdoms to the Catholic church, is said to have wept for joy. *King James's Mem.*

8. *King James*, ubi sup. See also Dalrymple's *Append.*

portant

portant negociation managed by a woman of twenty-five. Lewis, under pretence of viſiting his late conqueſts, but eſpecially the great works he was erecting at Dunkirk, made a journey thither, accompanied with his whole court, and preceded or followed by thirty thouſand men; ſome deſtined to reinforce the garriſons, ſome to work on the fortifications, and others to level the roads[9]. The princeſs Henrietta Maria of England, who had been married to the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. and who was equally beautiful and accompliſhed, took this opportunity of viſiting her native country, as if attracted by its vicinity. Her brother Charles met her at Dover; where was concluded, between France and England, a mock treaty, perfectly ſimilar to the real one, except in the article of religion, which was totally omitted; and where, amid feſtivity and amuſements, it was finally reſolved to begin with the Dutch war, as a prelude to the eſtabliſhment of popery and arbitrary ſway in Great Britain[10].

LETTER XIII.

A.D. 1670.

SOON after that negociation, which gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to the French, and was ſo diſgraceful to the Engliſh monarch, died his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Orleans, the brighteſt ornament of the court of Verſailles, and the favourite of her family. Her death

9. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix.

10. *King James's Mem. Conference at Dover.* Beſide his eagerneſs for the conqueſt of Holland, Lewis was afraid, if Charles ſhould begin with a declaration of his religion, to which he ſeemed inclined, that it might create ſuch troubles in England as would prevent him from receiving any aſſiſtance from that kingdom; a circumſtance which weighed more with the French monarch, notwithſtanding his bigotry, than the propagation of the Catholic faith. (*Dalrymple's Appendix.*) The duke of York, on the other hand, was for beginning with religion, foreſeeing that Lewis, after ſerving his own purpoſes, would no longer trouble himſelf about England. *King James' Mem.*

was

PART II. A.D. 1670. was fudden, and not without violent fufpicions of poifon; yet did it make no alteration in the conduct of Charles. Always prodigal, he hoped, in confequence of this new alliance, to have his neceffities amply fupplied by the generofity of France, and the fpoils of Holland. And Lewis XIV. well acquainted with the fluctuating councils of England, had taken care alfo to bind the king to his intereft by a tie, yet ftronger if poffible, than that of his wants—by the enflaving chain of his pleafures. When the duchefs of Orleans came over to meet her brother at Dover, fhe brought among her attendants, at the defire of the French monarch, a beautiful young lady of the name of Querouaille, who made the defired impreffion upon Charles. He fent her propofals: his offers were accepted; and although the fair favourite, in order to preferve appearances, went back to France with her miftrefs, fhe foon returned to England. The king, in the firft tranfports of his paffion, created her duchefs of Portfmouth; and as he continued attached to her during the whole future part of his life, fhe may be fuppofed to have been highly inftrumental in continuing his connexions with her native country.

Lewis, now fure of the friendfhip of Charles, and having almoft completed his preparations for the invafion of the United Provinces, the chief object of their alliance, took the firft ftep toward the accomplifhment of it. There were two ways of leading an army from France into the territories of the republic: one lay through the Spanifh Netherlands, the other through the dominions of the German princes upon the Rhine. A voluntary paffage through the former was not to be expected; to force it appeared

A.D. 1670.

peared dangerous and difficult; it was therefore refolved to attempt one through the latter. The petty princes upon the Rhine, it was prefumed, might be corrupted with eafe, or infulted with fafety; but as it was neceffary firft to enter the territories of the duke of Lorrain, whofe concurrence Lewis thought it impoffible to gain, on account of the memory of former injuries, he refolved to feize the dominions of a prince whom he could not hope to reconcile to his views. He accordingly gave orders, in breach of the faith of treaties, and in the height of fecurity and peace, to the marefchal de Crequi to enter Lorrain with a powerful army. Sept. 20. The duchy was fubdued in a fhort time; and the duke, deprived of all his territories, took refuge in the city of Cologne.

THIS enterprife, which feemed only a prelude to farther violences, gave great alarm to the continental powers, though ignorant of its final purpofe; and Lewis in vain endeavoured to juftify his conduct, by the allegation of dangerous intrigues at the court of Lorrain [11]. Charles II. though under no apprehenfions from the ambition of the French monarch, took advantage of the general terror, in order to demand a large fupply from his parliament. He informed the two houfes, by the mouth of the lord-keeper Bridgeman, that both France and Holland were arming by fea and land, and that prudence dictated fimilar preparations to England. He urged befide, the neceffity he was under, in confequence of the engagements into which he had entered by the Triple Alliance, of maintaining a refpectable fleet and army, in order to enable him to preferve the tranquillity of Europe. Deceived by thefe reprefentations, the commons voted a

11. *Suite de Mezeray.* Henault, vol. ii. Voltaire, ubi fup.

fupply

PART II. A. D. 1670.

supply of near three millions sterling[12]; the largest that had ever been granted to a king of England, and surely for the most detestable purpose that ever an abused people voluntarily aided their prince.

But ample as this supply was, neither it nor the remittances from France were equal to the accumulated necessities of the crown. Both were lost in the mysterious vortex of old demands and new profusions, before a fleet of fifty sail was ready to put to sea. The king durst not venture again to assemble the parliament; for although the treaty with France was yet a secret, though the nation was still ignorant of his treasonous designs against the religion and liberties of his subjects, the duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown, had at last declared himself a Catholic, A. D. 1671. and an universal alarm was spread of popery and arbitrary power. Some new expedient was, therefore, necessary, in order to raise money to complete the naval preparations; and, by the advice of sir Thomas Clifford, one of the Cabal, who was rewarded for his pernicious counsels with a peerage, it was resolved to shut the exchequer; to pay no money advanced upon the security of the funds, but to secure all the payments that should be made by the officers of the revenue, for the public service[13].

The

12. *Journals*, *Oct.* 24, 1670. This liberal grant is a sufficient proof, that if Charles had acted conformable to the wishes of his people, he would have had no reason to accuse the parliament of parsimony; and may be considered as a final refutation of all apologies for his conduct founded on such a supposition.

13. The hardships attending this measure will better be understood by a short explanation. It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, where they received interest for it; and to advance it upon the security of the funds on which the parliament had charged their supplies, and out of which they were repaid, when the money was levied upon the public. One million four hundred thousand pounds

LETTER XIII.

A.D. 1672.

The ſhutting of the Exchequer occaſioned univerſal conſternation, and even ruin in the city: the bankers failed, the merchants could not anſwer their bills, and a total ſtagnation of commerce was the conſequence. The king and his miniſters, however, ſeemed to enjoy the general confuſion and diſtreſs. Charles, in particular, was ſo much elated at being able to ſupply his wants without the aſſiſtance of parliament, and ſo confident of ſucceſs in the war with Holland, which he thought could not laſt above one campaign, that he grew perfectly regardleſs of the complaints of his ſubjects; diſcovered ſtrong ſymptoms of a deſpotic ſpirit, and exerciſed ſeveral acts of power utterly inconſiſtent with a limited government [14]. But his firſt hoſtile enterpriſe was ill calculated to encourage ſuch hopes, or ſupport ſuch arbitrary proceedings. Before the declaration of war, an inſidious and unſucceſsful attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet, valued at near two millions ſterling, by an Engliſh ſquadron under ſir Robert Holmes. And Charles had the infamy of violating the faith of treaties, without obtaining ſuch advantage as could juſtify the meaſure on the principles of political prudence.

Though the Dutch were not ignorant of the preparations of England, they never thoroughly believed they could be intended againſt them, before this act of hoſtiſity, which, was immediately followed by a declaration of war. As Lewis had taken offence at certain inſolent ſpeeches, and pretended *medals*, Charles, after complaining of a Dutch fleet, on their own

March 17.

pounds had been advanced upon the faith of the money-bills paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, when the exchequer was ſhut. R. Coke, p. 168.

14. Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit. Hume, vol. vii. Macpherſon, vol. i.

PART II. A.D. 1672.

coaſt, not ſtriking the flag to an Engliſh yacht, mentioned certain *abuſive pictures*, as a cauſe of quarrel[15]. The Dutch were at a loſs for the meaning of this laſt article, until it was diſcovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the penſionary, painted by order of certain magiſtrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-houſe, had given occaſion to the complaint. In the back ground of that picture, were drawn ſome ſhips on fire in a harbour, which was conſtrued to be Chatham, where de Wit had really diſtinguiſhed himſelf. But little did he or his countymen think, that an obſcure alluſion to that act of open hoſtility would rouſe the reſentment of England[16]. In a word, reaſons more falſe and frivolous were never employed to juſtify a flagrant breach of treaty.

The French monarch, in his declaration of war, affected more dignity. He did not condeſcend to ſpecify particulars; he only pretended that the inſolence of the Hollanders had been ſuch, that it did not conſiſt with his *glory* any longer to bear it. They had incurred his diſpleaſure, and he denounced vengeance. This indignant language was ill ſuited to deliberate violence and injuſtice; but the haughty Lewis had now completed his preparations, and his ambition was flattered with the moſt promiſing views of ſucceſs.

Never had Europe beheld ſuch a naval and military force, or ſo extenſive a confederacy, ſince the league of Cambray, as was formed for the deſtruction of the republic of Holland. Sweden, as well as England, was detached from the Triple League, by

15. Vide *Declaration.*

16. Hume, vol. vii. Voltaire *Siecle*, chap. ix.

the intrigues of Lewis, in order to be a check upon the emperor. The biſhop of Munſter, a warlike and rapacious prelate, was engaged by the payment of ſubſidies and the hopes of plunder to take part with France.* The elector of Cologne had alſo agreed to act offenſively againſt the States; and having conſigned Bonn and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected, and it was propoſed to invade the United Provinces from that quarter. The combined fleet of France and England, amounting to upward of an hundred ſail, was ready to ravage their coaſts; and a French army of an hundred and twenty thouſand choice troops, commanded by the ableſt generals of the age, was preparing to enter their frontiers.

The Dutch were in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force, eſpecially by land. The ſecurity procured by the peace of Weſtphalia; the general tranquillity, in conſequence of that treaty; the ſubſequent connections of the States with France; the growing ſpirit of commerce; and even their wars with England, had made them neglect their military force, and throw all their ſtrength into the navy. Their very fortifications, on which they had formerly reſted their exiſtence, were ſuffered to go out of repair; and their ſmall army was ill diſciplined, and worſe commanded. The old experienced officers, who were chiefly devoted to the houſe of Orange, had been diſmiſſed during the triumph of the rigid republican party, and their place ſupplied by raw youths, the ſons or kinſmen of Burgomaſters, by whoſe intereſt that party was ſupported. Theſe new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, paid no attention to their military duty. Some of them, it is ſaid,

PART II. A.D. 1672.

were even allowed to ſerve by deputies, to whom they aſſigned a ſmall part of their pay [17].

De Wit, now ſenſible of his error, in relying too implicitly on the faith of treaties, attempted to remedy theſe abuſes, and to raiſe a reſpectable military force for the defence of his country, in this dangerous criſis. But every propoſal which he made for that purpoſe was oppoſed by the Orange faction, who aſcribed to his miſconduct alone the defenceleſs ſtate of the republic; and their power, which had increaſed with the difficulties of the States, was become extremely formidable, by the popularity of the young prince, William III. now in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and who had already given ſtrong indications of the great qualites, which afterward diſtinguiſhed his active life. For theſe qualities William was not a little indebted to his generous and patriotic rival, de Wit; who, conſcious of the precarious ſituation of his own party, had given the prince an excellent education, and inſtructed him in all the principles of government and ſound policy, in order to render him capable of ſerving his country, if any future emergency ſhould ever throw the government into his hands [18].

The conduct of William had hitherto been highly deſerving of approbation, and ſuch as could not fail to recommend him to his countrymen. Though encouraged by England and Brandenburgh, to which he was allied by blood, to aſpire after the ſtadtholderſhip, he had expreſſed his reſolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement. The whole tenor of his behaviour was extremely ſuitable

17. Le Clerk. Temple. Voltaire. 18. Ibid.

to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and ſilent, even in youth; ready to hear, and given to enquire; deſtitute of brilliant talents, but of a ſound and ſteady underſtanding; greatly intent on buſineſs, little inclined to pleaſure, he ſtrongly engaged the hearts of all men. And the people, remembering what they owed to his family, which had ſo gloriouſly protected them againſt the exorbitant power of Spain, were deſirous of raiſing him to all the authority of his anceſtors; as the leader whoſe valour and conduct could alone deliver them from thoſe imminent dangers with which they were threatened[19]. In conſequence of this general predilection, William was appointed commander in chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of ſeventy thouſand men. But raw troops could not of a ſudden acquire diſcipline or experience: and the friends of the prince were ſtill diſſatisfied, becauſe the Perpetual Edict, by which he was excluded from the ſtadtholderſhip, was not yet revoked. The ſtruggle between the parties continued; and by their mutual animoſities, the vigour of every public meaſure was broken, and the execution of every project retarded.

LETTER XIII.
A.D. 1672.

In the meantime de Wit, whoſe maxim, and that of his party, it had ever been to give the navy a preference above the army, haſtened the equipment of the fleet; in hopes that, by ſtriking at firſt a ſucceſsful blow, he might be able to inſpire courage into the diſmayed States, as well as to ſupport his own declining authority. Animated by the ſame hopes, de Ruyter, his firm adherent, and the greateſt naval

19. Le Clerc. Temple. Voltaire.

PART II. A.D. 1672. officer of his age, put to sea with ninety-one men of war, and forty-four frigates and fireships, and sailed in quest of the enemy.

THE English fleet, under the duke of York and the earl of Sandwich, had already joined the French fleet, commanded by count d'Estrees. With this junction the Dutch were unacquainted, and hoped to take signal vengeance on the English for their perfidious attempt on the Smyrna fleet. When de Ruyter came in sight, the combined fleet, to the number of an hundred and thirty sail, lay at anchor in Solebay. The earl of Sandwich, who had before warned the duke of the danger of being surprised in such a posture, but whose advice had been slighted as favouring of timidity, now hastened out of the bay; where the Dutch, by their fire-ships, might have destroyed the whole naval force of the two kingdoms. Though determined to conquer or perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the combined fleet was evidently indebted to him for its safety. He commanded the van; and by his vigour and dispatch, gave the duke of York and d'Estrees time to disengage themselves. Meanwhile he himself, rushing into battle with the Hollanders, and presenting a front to every danger, had drawn the chief attention of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship, after a furious engagement: he sunk another ship, which attempted to lay him aboard, and two fire-ships that endeavoured to grapple with him. Though his own ship was much shattered, and of one thousand men she carried, near six hundred lay dead on the deck, he still continued to thunder with all his artillery, and to set the enemy at defiance, until seized on by a third fire-ship more fortunate than the

May 28.

two

two former. The ruin of his gallant ſhip was now inevitable; but although ſenſible of the conſequences of remaining on board, he refuſed to make his eſcape[20]. So deep had the duke's ſarcaſm ſunk into his mind, that a brave death, in thoſe awful moments, appeared to him the only refuge from ignominy, ſince his utmoſt efforts had not been attended with victory.

DURING this terrible conflict, between Van Ghent's diviſion and the earl of Sandwich, the duke of York and de Ruyter were not idle. The duke bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and fought him with ſuch fury for two hours, that of thirty-two actions in which that hoary veteran had been engaged, he declared that this was the moſt vigorouſly diſputed. Night put a ſtop to the doubtful conteſt. Next morning the duke of York thought it prudent to retire[21]. The Dutch, though much diſabled, attempted to harraſs him in his retreat: he turned upon them, and renewed the fight. Meantime ſir Joſeph Jordan, who had ſucceeded Sandwich in the command of the van, or blue diviſion, which had hitherto been only partially engaged, having gained the weather-gage of the enemy, de Ruyter fled, from a ſenſe of his danger, and was purſued by the duke to the coaſt of Holland. As the Engliſh hung cloſe on his rear, fifteen of his diſabled ſhips could only have been ſaved by a ſudden fog, which prevented all farther conſequences[22]. The French had ſcarce any ſhare in this action; and as

20 Burnet. Temple. King James, in his Memoirs, makes no mention of any diſagreement with the earl of Sandwich; but this ſilence is ſurely inſufficient to weigh againſt the general teſtimony of other cotemporary writers. It was a circumſtance not to his honour, and therefore likely to be concealed. His account of the battle ſeems in other reſpects very accurate. 21. *King James's Mem.* 22. Ibid.

 back-

PART II. A. D. 1672.

backwardnefs is not their national characteriftic, it was univerfally believed, that they had received orders to keep at a diftance, while the Englifh and Dutch were weakening each other: an opinion which was confirmed by all the fubfequent engagements during the war.

It was certainly honourable for the Dutch to have fought with fo little lofs, the combined fleet of France and England; but nothing lefs than a complete victory, and not perhaps even that, could have preferved the credit of de Wit, or prevented the execution of thofe fchemes which were formed for the ruin of his country.

The king of France having divided his army, confifting of an hundred and twenty thoufand men, into three bodies, had put them all in motion about the beginning of May. The firft he headed in perfon, affifted by the famous Turenne; the prince of Condé led the fecond; and Chamilli and Luxembourg, who were to act either feparately or conjunctly, commanded the third. The armies of the elector of Cologne and the bifhop of Munfter appeared on the other fide of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. Too weak to defend their extenfive frontier, the Dutch troops were fcattered into fo many towns, that no confiderable body appeared in the field; and yet a ftrong garrifon was fcarcely to be found in any fortrefs. Orfoy, Wefel, Rhimberg, and Burack, were taken almoft as foon as invefted, by the French
June 9. generals. Groll furrendered to the bifhop of Munfter; and Lewis, to the univerfal confternation of the Hollanders, advanced to the banks of the Rhine[23].

23. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix. Henault, 1672.

THE

LETTER XIII.

A. D. 1672.

THE paſſage of that river, ſo much celebrated by the flatterers of Lewis XIV. had in it nothing extraordinary. The extreme dryneſs of the ſeaſon, in addition to the other misfortunes of the Dutch, had much diminiſhed the greateſt rivers, and rendered many of them, in ſome places, fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the preſence of their prince, and protected by a furious diſcharge of artillery, flung themſelves into the Rhine, and had only a few fathoms to ſwim: the infantry, with the king at their head, paſſed quietly over on a bridge of boats; and as only a few Dutch regiments, without any cannon, appeared on the other ſide, the danger was very ſmall[24]. June 12.

THE attempt, however, was bold, and its ſucceſs added greatly to the glory of Lewis, and to the terror of his arms. Arnheim immediately ſurrendered to Turenne; and Schenck, which had formerly ſuſtained a ſiege of nine months, was reduced by the ſame great commander, in leſs than half the number of days. Nimeguen, and a number of other towns, were delivered up on the firſt ſummons; and the prince of Orange, unable to make head againſt the victorious enemy, retired into the province of Holland with his ſmall and diſcouraged army. The progreſs of Lewis, like the courſe of an inundation, levelled every thing before it. The town and province of Utrecht ſent deputies to implore his clemency. Naerden, within nine miles of Amſterdam, was reduced by the marquis of Rochfort; and had he taken poſſeſſion of

24. Id. ibid. The notion which generally prevailed of this paſſage at Paris was, that all the French forces had paſſed the Rhine by ſwimming, in the face of an army entrenched on the other ſide, and amidſt the fire of artillery from an impregnable fortreſs called the *Tholus*. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

Muy-

PART II. A.D.1672. Muyden, the keys of which were delivered to some of his advanced parties, but recovered by the magiſtrates, when the moment of terror was over, Amſterdam itſelf muſt have fallen, and with it perhaps the republic of Holland.

But this opportunity being neglected, the States had leiſure to recollect themſelves; and the ſame ambitious vanity, which had induced the French monarch to undertake the conqueſt of the United Provinces, proved the means of their preſervation. June 25. Lewis entered Utrecht in triumph, ſurrounded by a ſplendid court, and followed by a gallant army, all glittering with gold and ſilver. Poets and hiſtorians attended to celebrate his exploits, and tranſmit the fame of his victories to poſterity. In the courſe of a few weeks, the three provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, and Overyſſel had ſubmitted to his arms: Frieſland and Groningen were invaded by his ally, the biſhop of Munſter; ſo that the reduction of Holland and Zealand ſeemed now only neceſſary to crown his enterprize. But he waſted in vain parade at Utrecht the ſeaſon proper for that purpoſe.

In the meantime, the people of the remaining provinces, inſtead of collecting courage and unanimity from the approach of danger, became ſtill more a prey to faction, and ungovernable and outrageous from their fears. They aſcribed all their misfortunes to the unhappy de Wit, whoſe prudence and patriotiſm had formerly been the object of ſuch general applauſe. Not only the bad ſtate of the army, and the ill choice of governors was imputed to him, but, as inſtances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was ſuſpected; and his former connections with France being remembered, the populace believed that he and his

his party had conſpired to betray them to their ambitious enemy. Under this apprehenſion, and perhaps from a hope of diſarming the reſentment of the king of England, the torrent of popular favour ran ſtrongly toward the prince of Orange, who, notwithſtanding his youth and inexperience, was repreſented as the only perſon able to ſave the republic. The Penſionary and his partizans, however, unwilling to relinquiſh their authority, ſtill oppoſed the repeal of the Perpetual Edict; and hence the diſtracted counſels and feeble efforts of the States. LETTER XIII. A. D. 1672.

AMSTERDAM alone, amid the general deſpondency, ſeemed to retain any degree of courage or conduct. The magiſtrates obliged the burgeſſes to keep ſtrict watch; the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed and diſciplined for the public defence. Ships were ſtationed to guard the city by ſea; and, as a laſt reſource, the ſluices were opened, and the neighbouring country was laid under water; without regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flouriſhing villages, which were overwhelmed by the inundation [25]! All the province followed the example of the capital.

BUT the ſecurity derived from this expedient was not ſufficient to infuſe courage into the dejected States. The body of the nobles, and eleven towns, voted to ſend ambaſſadors to the hoſtile kings, in order to ſupplicate peace. They offered to ſurrender Maeſtricht, and all the frontier towns which lay beyond the limits of the Seven Provinces, and to pay a large ſum toward the expences of the war. Fortunately for the

25. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix. *Temple's Mem.* part ii.

republic

PART II. A. D. 1672. republic and for Europe, thefe conditions were rejected. Lewis, in the abfence of Turenne, liftened to the violent counfels of his minifter Louvois, whofe unreafonable demands threw the States into a defpair that overcame their fears. The demands of Charles were not more moderate. The terms, in a word, required by the two monarchs would have deprived the commonwealth of all fecurity, by fea as well as by land, and have reduced it to a ftate of perpetual dependence. Yet were the Provinces ftill agitated by the animofities of faction. Enraged to find their country enfeebled by party jealoufy, when its very political exiftence was threatened, the people rofe at Dort, and forced their magiftrates to fign the repeal of the Perpetual Edict. Other cities followed the example, and the prince of
July 5. Orange was declared Stadtholder.

THIS revolution, fo favourable to the defence of the republic, was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the penfionary de Wit marked him out as a facrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interpofition of power. Cornelius de Wit, the penfionary's brother, who had fo often ferved his country with his fword, was accufed by a man of an infamons character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poifon the prince of Orange. The accufation, though attended with the moft improbable, and even abfurd circumftances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude, and even by the magiftrates. Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature, and put to the torture, in order to extort a confeffion of his crime. He bore with the moft intrepid firmnefs all that cruelty could inflict: but he was ftript notwithftanding of his employments, and fentenced to banifhment for life. The penfionary,

who

who had ſupported his brother through the whole proſecution, reſolved not to deſert him in his diſgrace. He accordingly went to his priſon, on purpoſe to accompany him to the place of his exile. The ſignal was given to the populace. They broke open the priſon doors: they pulled out the two brothers; and wounded, mangled, and tore them to pieces [26]; exerciſing on their dead bodies acts of barbarity too horrid to relate.

LETTER XIII. A.D. 1672.

THE maſſacre of the de Wits, by extinguiſhing for a time the animoſities of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the States. All men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in paying the moſt implicit obedience to the prince of Orange; and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was deſcended, adopted ſentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject with ſcorn thoſe humiliating conditions demanded by their imperious enemies; and, by his advice, the States put an end to negociations which had ſerved only to depreſs the courage of the citizens, and delay the aſſiſtance of their allies. He ſhewed them that, aided by the advantages of their ſituation, they would ſtill be able, if they abandoned not themſelves to deſpondency, to preſerve the remaining provinces, until the other nations of Europe, made ſenſible of the common danger, could come to their relief. And he profeſſed himſelf willing to undertake their defence, provided they would ſecond his efforts with the ſame manly fortitude, which they had ſo often diſcovered under his illuſtrious predeceſſors.

THE ſpirit of the young prince ſeemed to infuſe itſelf into every breaſt. The people, who lately en-

26. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. See alſo Burnet, Baſnage, Le Clerc, the *Gazette*, No. 704. preſerved in ſeveral Hiſtories.

PART II. A.D. 1672.

tertained only thoughts of yielding their necks to subjection, now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor, and to defend that remnant of their native soil, of which neither the arms of Lewis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground on which they might combat fail them, to use the forcible language of Hume, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife; but flying to their settlements in the East Indies, erect a new empire in the South of Asia, and preserve alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was unworthy [27]. They had already concerted measures, we are told, for executing this extraordinary resolution; and found, that the ships in their harbours adequate to such a voyage, were capable of carrying fifty thousand families, or about two hundred thousand persons [28].

No sooner did the confederate kings perceive the new spirit with which the Dutch were animated, than they bent all their efforts to corrupt the prince of Orange. They offered him the sovereignty of the province of Holland; to be held under the protection of France and England, and secured against the invasion of foreign enemies, as well as the revolt of his own subjects. But William, from motives of pru-

27. *Hist. Eng.* vol. vii.

28. Burnet, book ii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix. The reflections of Voltaire on this subject are truly ingenious and striking "Amsterdam, the emporium and the magazine of Europe, says he, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand inhabitants, would soon, in that event, have become one vast morass. All the adjacent lands, which require immense expence, and many thousands of men, to keep up their dykes, would again have been overwhelmed by that ocean from which they had been gained, leaving to Lewis XIV. only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest, and most extraordinary monuments of human industry." Id ibid.

dence,

dence, if not patriotifm, rejected all fuch propofals. He was fenfible that the feafon of danger was over, and that the power which he already enjoyed by the fuffrage of his countrymen, was both more honourable and lefs precarious, than that which muft depend on princes, who had already facrificed their faith to their ambition. He therefore declared, that he would fooner retire, if all his endeavours fhould fail, and pafs his life in hunting on his lands in Germany, than betray the truft repofed in him, by felling the liberties of his country [29]. And when afked, in a haughty tone, if he did not fee that his country was already ruined, he firmly replied, "There is one way, by "which I can be certain never to fee the ruin of my "country; and that is, to die in difputing the laft "ditch [30]!"

The Dutch, however, were much difappointed in finding, that the elevation of the prince of Orange to the dignity of Stadtholder had no influence on the meafures of his uncle, the king of England. Charles perfifted in his alliance with France. But other circumftances faved the republic. When the hoftile fleets approached the coaft of Holland, with an army on board commanded by count Schomberg, they were carried back to fea in fo wonderful a manner, and afterward prevented from landing the forces by fuch ftormy weather, that Providence was believed to have interpofed miraculoufly to prevent the ruin of the Hollanders [31]; and Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther progrefs was likely to be made by his arms during the campaign, had retired to Verfailles, in order to enjoy the glory of his fuccefs, which was pom-

29. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. 30. Burnet, book ii.
31. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1673. poufly difplayed in poems, orations, and triumphal arches. Meanwhile the other ftates of Europe began to difcover a jealoufy of the power of France. The emperor, though naturally flow, had put himfelf in motion; the elector of Brandenburg fhewed a difpofition to fupport the States; the king of Spain had fent fome forces to their affiftance; and, by the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange, and the profpect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began foon to appear.

Of all their friends or allies there was none on whom the Dutch relied more firmly for relief than the Englifh parliament, which the king's neceffities obliged him at laft to convene. (Feb. 4.) But that affembly was too much occupied with domeftic grievances to have leifure to attend to foreign politics. Charles, among his other arbitrary meafures, had iffued a general Declaration of Indulgence in religious matters, by which the Catholics were placed on the fame footing with the Proteftant fectaries. The purpofe of this meafure was eafily forefeen, and excited a general alarm. A remonftrance was framed againft fuch an exercife of prerogative: the king defended his meafure, and the hopes and fears of all men were fufpended, in regard to the iffue of fo extraordinary an affair. Befide his ufual guards, the king had an army encamped on Blackheath, under the command of marfhal Schomberg, a foreigner. Many of his officers were of the Catholic religion; and he had reafon to expect that his ally, the king of France, would fupply him with troops, if force fhould become neceffary for reftraining his difcontented fubjects, and fupporting the meafures they had, by common confent, agreed to purfue.

BUT

A. D. 1673.

But Charles, although encouraged by his minifters to proceed, was ftartled when he approached the dangerous precipice; and the fame love of eafe which had led him to defire arbitrary power, induced him to retract the Declaration of Indulgence, when he faw how much hazard and difficulty there would be in maintaining it. He accordingly called for the writing, and broke the feals with his own hand[32]. But the parliament, though highly fatisfied with this compliance, thought another ftep neceffary for the fecurity of their civil and religious liberties. They paffed an act called the Test: by which all perfons, holding any public office, befides taking the oaths of fupremacy and allegiance, and receiving the facrament according to the rites of the church of England, were obliged to abjure the doctrine of tranfubftantiation. Even to this bill the king gave his affent; and the parliament, in recompence for thefe conceffions, granted him a confiderable fupply for his *extraordinary occafions*, as they expreffed themfelves, difdaining to mention a war which they abhorred[33]. March 7.

But Charles, though baffled in his favourite project, and obliged tacitly to relinquifh the difpenfing power of the crown, was ftill refolved to perfevere in his alliance with France; in the Dutch war, and confequently in all the fecret defigns which depended on fuch pernicious meafures. With the money granted by parliament he was enabled to equip a fleet, the command of which was given to prince Rupert, the duke of York being fet afide by the Teft. Sir Edward

32. Echard. Burnet. Rapin. The people were fo much elated at this victory over the prerogative, that they expreffed with bonfires and illuminations their tumultuous joy. Ibid.

33. Journals, March, 1673. Echard, vol. iii. Burnet, book iii.

PART II. A.D. 1673.

Sprague and the earl of Offory commanded under the prince. A French fquadron joined them, commanded by d'Eftrees and Martel.

The combined fleet failed toward the coaft of Holland, where three indecifive battles were fought with the Dutch, under de Ruyter and Van Tromp. The laft, however, claims our attention on account of its obftinacy. Tromp immediately fell along the fide of Sprague, and both engaged with incredible obftinacy. Tromp was compelled once to fhift his flag, Sprague twice to quit his fhip; and, unfortunately, as the Englifh admiral was paffing to a third fhip, in order to hoift his flag, and renew the difpute, a fhot ftruck his boat, and he was drowned, to the regret even of his enemies. But the death of this gallant officer did not pafs unrevenged. Van Tromp, after the difafter of Sprague, was repulfed, in fpite of his moft vigorous efforts, by the intrepidity of the earl of Offory[34].

In the mean time a furious combat was maintained between de Ruyter and prince Rupert. Never did the prince acquire more deferved honour; his conduct being no lefs confpicuous than his valour, which fhone with diftinguifhed luftre. The conteft was equally obftinate on both fides, and victory remained long doubtful. At length prince Rupert threw the enemy into fome confufion; and, in order to increafe it, fent among them two fire-fhips. They at once took to flight; and had the French, who were mafters of the wind, and to whom a fignal was made, borne down upon the Dutch, a decided advantage would have been

34. Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond.* Burchet, p. 404.

gained.

gained. But they paid no regard to the ſignal. The Engliſh, ſeeing themſelves neglected by their allies, therefore gave over the purſuit; and de Ruyter, with little loſs made good his retreat[35]. The victory, as uſual, was claimed by both ſides. LETTER XIII. A.D. 1673.

While the Dutch, my dear Philip, thus continued to defend themſelves with vigour by ſea, fortune was ſtill more favourable to them by land. Though the French monarch took Maeſtricht, one of their June 29. ſtrongeſt bulwarks, after a ſiege of thirteen days, no other advantage was obtained during the campaign. Naerden was retaken by the prince of Orange; and the Imperialiſts, under Montecuculi, after having in vain attempted againſt Turenne the paſſage of the Rhine, eluded the vigilance of that able general, and ſat down ſuddenly before Bonne. The prince of Orange, by a conduct no leſs maſterly, leaving behind him the other French generals, joined his army to that of the empire. Bonne ſurrendered, after a Nov. 12. ſhort ſiege. The greater part of the electorate of Cologne was ſubdued by the Dutch and Germans; and the communication between France and the United Provinces being by that means cut off, Lewis was obliged to recall his forces, and abandon his conqueſts with the utmoſt precipitation[36]. The very monuments of his glory were not completed, when he returned in diſgrace: the triumphal arch at the gate of St. Denis was yet unfiniſhed, after all cauſe of triumph had ceaſed[37]!

A congress, under the the mediation of Sweden, held at Cologne during the ſummer, was attended

35. Burchet. Baſnage. Echard. Kennet. 36. Henault, 1674.
37. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. x.

PART II. A.D. 1673

with no fuccefs. The demands of the confederate kings were originally fuch as muft have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual fervitude; and although they funk in their demands, in proportion as the affairs of the States rofe, the States fell ftill lower in their offers: fo that it was found impoffible for the parties, without fome remarkable change of fortune, ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congrefs broke up. No longer anxious for their fafety, the States were now bent on revenge. Their negociations at the courts of Vienna and Madrid were approaching to a happy conclufion. The houfe of Auftria in both its branches was alarmed at the ambition of Lewis XIV. and the emperor and the Catholic king publicly figned a treaty with the United Provinces before the clofe of the year. Forgetting her ancient animofities againft the republic, in the recent injuries which fhe had received from the French monarch, Spain immediately iffued a declaration of war; and by a ftrange reverfe in her policy, defended the Dutch againft France and England, by whofe aid they had become independent of her power!

The boundlefs ambition of Lewis XIV. together with the dark defigns and mercenary meannefs of Charles II. which led him to a clofe alliance with France, had totally changed the fyftem of European policy. But a run of events, which it was not in the power of the confederate kings to reverfe, at laft brought things back to what is now efteemed their natural order. The firft of thefe events was the peace between England and Holland.

When the Englifh parliament met, the commons difcovered fuch ftrong fymptoms of difcontent at the late meafures of government, that the king, perceiving he could

could expect no supply for carrying on the war, asked their advice in regard to peace. Both houses thanked him for his condescension, and unanimously concurred in their advice for a negociation. Peace was accordingly concluded with Holland, by the marquis de Fresno, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, who had powers for that purpose, and added the influence of his own court to the other reasons which had obliged Charles to listen to terms. The conditions, though little advantageous, were by no means degrading to England. The honour of the flag was relinquished by the Dutch; all possessions were mutually restored; new regulations of trade were made, and the republic agreed to pay the king near three hundred thousand pounds toward reimbursing the expence of the war[38]. Charles bound himself to the States, by a secret article, not to allow the English troops in the French service to be recruited, but would not agree to recall them. They amounted to ten thousand men, and had greatly contributed to the rapid success of Lewis [39].

LETTER XIII. A.D. 1674. Jan. 24.

THOUGH the peace with Holland relieved the king from many of his difficulties, it did not restore him to the confidence of his people, nor allay the jealousy of the parliament. Sensible of this jealousy, Charles, who had always been diffident of the attachment of his subjects, still kept up his connections with France. He apologized to Lewis for the step he had taken, by representing the real state of his affairs; and the French monarch, with great com-

38. *Articles of Peace* in the *Journals of the Lords*.

39. Hnme, vol. vii. The king's partiality to France prevented a strict execution of his engagement relative to the recruiting of these troops. Id. Ibid. See also Dalrymple's *Append.*

PART II. A.D. 1674.

plaisance and good humour, admitted the validity of his excuses. In order still farther to atone for deserting his ally, Charles offered his mediation to the contending powers.

WILLING to negociate under so favourable a mediator, the king of France readily acceded to the offer. As it was apprehended, however, that, for a like reason, the allies would be inclined to refuse it, sir William Temple, whose principles were known to be favourable to the general interests of Europe, was invited from his retreat, and appointed ambassador from England to the States. Temple accepted the office. But reflecting on the unhappy issue of his former fortunate negociations, and on the fatal turn of counsels which had occasioned it, he resolved, before he set out on his embassy, to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the king's real sentiments in regard to those popular measures which he seemed to have resumed. He therefore took occasion, at a private audience, to blame the dangerous schemes of the Cabal, as well as their flagrant breach of the most solemn treaties[40]. And when the king seemed disposed to vindicate their measures, but blamed the means employed to carry them into execution, that excellent minister, no less prudent than patriotic, endeavoured to shew his sovereign how difficult, if not impossible, it would be, to introduce into England the same system of religion and government that was

40. The Cabal was now in a manner dissolved. Clifford was dead: and Ashly, created earl of Shafesbury, had gone over to the popular party, in order to avoid the danger of an impeachment, when he found the king wanted courage to support his ministers in those measures which he had himself dictated. Buckingham, in consequence of his wavering and inconsistent conduct, was become of small account; but Lauderdale and Arlington were still of some weight.

established

LETTER XIII. A.D. 1674.

eſtabliſhed in France; that the univerſal bent of the nation was againſt both; that many, who appeared indifferent in regard to all religions, would yet oppoſe the introduction of popery, as they were ſenſible it could not be effected without military force, and that the ſame force, which ſhould enable the king to bring about ſuch a change, would alſo make him maſter of their civil liberties; that, in France, it was only neceſſary for a king to gain the nobility and clergy, as the peaſants, having no land, were as inſignificant as our women and children:—Whereas, in England, a great part of the landed property was in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, whoſe hearts were high with eaſe and plenty, while the inferior orders in France were diſpirited by oppreſſion and want; that a king of England, ſince the abolition of the feudal policy, could neither raiſe nor maintain an army, except by the voluntary ſupplies of his parliament; that granting he had an army on foot, yet, if compoſed of Engliſhmen, it would never be induced to ſerve ends which the people ſo much hated and feared; that the Roman catholics in England were not the hundreth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two hundreth; and it ſeemed againſt all common ſenſe to hope, by any one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of different humours and ſentiments; that, foreign troops, if few, would ſerve only to inflame hatred and diſcontent; and how to bring over at once, and maintain many (for no leſs than threeſcore thouſand would be neceſſary, to ſubdue the ſpirit and liberties of the nation), was very hard to imagine[41].

THESE reaſonings Temple endeavoured to enforce by the authority of Gourville, a French ſtateſman,

41. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. i.

PART II. A. D. 1674. who had resided some time in England, and for whose judgment he knew Charles had great respect. "A "king of England," said Gourville, on hearing of our dissensions, "who will be the MAN of his *People* "is the greatest king in the world; but if he will be "something more, by God! he is nothing at all." The king, who had listened with impatience at first, seemed now open to conviction; and laying his hand on Temple's, said with an air of sincerity—"And I "will be the MAN of *my People*[42]!"

WHEN Temple went abroad, he found a variety of circumstances likely to defeat the purpose of his embassy. The allies in general, independent of their jealousy of Charles's mediation, expressed great ardour for the continuance of the war. Spain had engaged Holland to stipulate never to come to an accommodation, until all things in Flanders were restored to the same situation in which they were left by the Pyrenean treaty; the emperor had high pretensions on Alsace; and although the Dutch, oppressed by heavy taxes, might be desirous of peace, they could not, without violating all the principles of honour and policy, abandon those allies to whose protection they had so lately been indebted for their safety. The prince of Orange, who had vast influence in their councils, and in whose family they had just decreed the office of stadtholder to be perpetual, was beside ambitious of military fame, and convinced, That it would be in vain to negociate till a greater impression was made upon France, as no equitable terms could otherwise be expected from Lewis[43]. The operations of the ensuing campaign did not contribute to this effect.

42. Id. ibid. 43 Temple, ubi. sup. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. x.

LEWIS

LEWIS XIV. aſtoniſhed all Europe by the vigour of his exertions. He had three great armies in the field this ſummer: one on the ſide of Germany, one in Flanders, and one on the frontiers of Rouſſillon; and he himſelf, at the head of a fourth, entered Franche Comte, and ſubdued the whole province in ſix weeks. The taking of Beſançon was matter of great triumph to the French monarch. He loved ſieges, and is ſaid to have underſtood them well; but he never beſieged a town without being morally certain of taking it. Louvois prepared all things ſo effectually, the troops were ſo well appointed, and Vauban, who conducted moſt of the ſieges, was ſo great a maſter in the art of taking towns, that the king's glory was perfectly ſafe. Vauban directed the attacks at Beſançon, which was reduced in nine days, and became the capital of the province; the univerſity and the ſeat of government being transferred to it from Dole[44]. LETTER XIII. A.D. 1674.

Nothing of importance happened in Rouſſillon: but in Flanders the prince of Condé, with an inferior army, prevented the prince of Orange from entering France by that quarter; and, after long avoiding an engagement, from motives of prudence, he attacked the rear of the confederates, when an opportunity offered, in a narrow defile near Seneffe, a village between Marimont and Nivelle; threw them into confuſion, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The prince of Orange, however, leſs remarkable for preventing misfortune than for ſtopping its progreſs, rallied his diſordered forces; led them back to the charge; puſhed the veteran troops of France; and obliged the great Condé to exert more deſperate efforts, and hazard his perſon more than in any action during his life, though now in an advanced age, and

44. Id. ibid. Henault, 1574.

PART II. A.D. 1674.

though he had been peculiarly diſtinguiſhed in youth by the impetuoſity of his courage. William did not expoſe his perſon leſs. Hence the generous and candid teſtimony of Condé, forgetful of his own behaviour: "The prince of Orange has acted in every "thing like an old captain, except in venturing his "life too much like a young ſoldier[45]."

The engagement was renewed three ſeveral times; and, after ſun-ſet, it was continued for two hours by the light of the moon. Darkneſs at laſt, not the ſlackneſs of the combatants, put an end to the conteſt, and left the victory undecided[46]. Twelve thouſand men lay dead on the field, and the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal[47]. In order to give an air of ſuperiority to the allies, and to bring the French to a new engagement, the prince of Orange beſieged Oudenarde; but Souches, the imperial general, not being willing to hazard a battle, he was obliged to relinquiſh his enterpriſe, on the approach of Condé. Before the cloſe of the campaign, however, after an obſtinate ſiege, he took Grave, the laſt town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces[48].

Turenne, who commanded on the ſide of Germany, completed that high reputation which he had already acquired, of being the greateſt general of his age and nation. By a long and haſty march, in order to prevent the junction of the different bodies of German troops, he paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburg, and defeated ths old duke of Lorrain and Caprara, the imperial general, at Sintzheim. With twenty thouſand men, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Palatinate, by driving the allied princes beyond the Neckar and the

45. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. i. 46. Id. ibid.
47. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xi. 48. Temple, ubi ſup.

Maine.

Maine. They returned however, during his absence in Lorrain, with a prodigious army, and poured into Alsace, where they meant to pass the winter. He came back upon them unexpectedly; routed the Imperialists at Mulhausen, and chased from Colmar the elector of Branderburg, who commanded the troops of the allied princes. He gained a farther advantage at Turkheim; and having dislodged all the Germans, obliged them to pass the Rhine. But the glory of so many victories was stained by the cruelties committed in the Palatinate; where the elector beheld, from his castle at Manheim, two cities and five and twenty towns in flames[49], and where lust and rapine walked hand in hand with fire and sword. Stung with rage and revenge at such a spectacle, he challenged Turenne to single combat. The marefchal coolly replied, that he could not accept such a challenge without his master's leave; but was ready to meet the Palatine in the field, at the head of his army, against any which that prince and his new allies could bring together[50].

These events inspired the people of England with the most melancholy apprehensions, but gave sincere satisfaction to the court; and Charles, at the request of the king of France, prorogued the parliament, which was to have met on the 10th of October, to the 13th of April in the following year, lest the commons should force him to take part with the United Provinces. One hundred thousand pounds was the price of this prorogation[51].

Lewis, notwithstanding his successes, was alarmed at the number of his enemies; and therefore, beside

49. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xi. 50. *Temple's Mem.* part ii.
51. *Dalrymple's Append.* Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* chap. iv.

pur-

PART II. A. D. 1675. purchasing the neutrality of England, he endeavoured, though in vain, to negociate a peace with Holland. The events of the next campaign shewed that his fears were well founded. Though he made vast preparations, and entered Flanders with a numerous army, commanded by himself and the prince of Condé, he was able to gain no advantage of any consequence over the prince of Orange, who opposed him in all his motions. Neither party was willing, without some peculiarly favourable circumstance, to hazard a general engagement; which might be attended with the utter loss of Flanders, if victory declared for the French, and with the invasion of France if the king should be defeated. Disgusted at his want of success, Lewis returned to Versailles about the end of July, and nothing memorable happened in the Low Countries during the campaign.

The campaign was still less favourable to France in other quarters. Turenne was opposed, on the side of Germany, by his celebrated rival Montecuculi, who commanded the forces of the empire. The object of Montecuculi was to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Alsace, Lorrain, or Burgundy; that of Turenne, to guard the frontiers of France, and disappoint the schemes of his antagonist. The most consummate skill was displayed on both sides. Both had reduced war to a science, and each was enabled to discover the designs of the other by judging what he himself would have done in like circumstances. Turenne, by posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, was enabled not only to keep Montecuculi from passing that river, but to seize any opportunity that fortune might present. Such a happy moment he thought he had discerned, and was preparing to take advantage of it, by bringing the Germans to a decisive engagement,

 and

and his own generalſhip and that of Montecuculi to a final trial, when a period was put to his life by a cannon-ball, as he was viewing the poſition of the enemy, and taking meaſures for erecting a battery[52].

THE conſternation of the French on the loſs of their general was inexpreſſible. The ſame troops that a moment before was aſſured of victory, now thought of nothing but flight. A diſpute relative to the command between the count de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, and the marquis de Vaubrun, was added to their grand misfortune. They retreated: Montecuculi preſſed them hard; but, by the valour of the Engliſh auxiliaries, who brought up the rear, and the abilities of de Lorges, who inherited a conſiderable ſhare of the genius of his uncle, they were enabled to repaſs the Rhine, without much loſs. Leaving the army in Flanders, under the command of Luxembourg, the prince of Condé came with a reinforcement to ſupply the place of Turenne; and though he was not perhaps, in all reſpects, equal to that conſummate general, he not only prevented the Germans from eſtabliſhing themſelves in Alſace, but obliged them to repaſs the Rhine, and take winter-quarters in their own country[53].

BEFORE the arrival of Condé, however, a detachment from the German army had been ſent to the ſiege of Treves; an enterpriſe which the allies had greatly at heart. In the mean time the mareſchal de Crequi advanced with a French army to the relief of the place. The Germans, whom he deſpiſed, leaving part of their forces in the lines, advanced to meet

52. *Temple's Mem.* part ii, chap. i. Henault, 1675. Voltaire, *Siecle* chap. xi. 53. Id. ibid.

him

PART II.
A.D. 1675.

him with the main body, under the dukes of Zell and Oznabrug, and totally routed him. He efcaped with only four attendants, and throwing himfelf into Treves, determined to perifh rather than furrender the town. But the garrifon, after a gallant defence, refolving not to fall a facrifice to his obftinacy, capitulated for themfelves; and becaufe he refufed to fign the articles, they delivered him into the hands of the enemy[54].

The king of Sweden, who had been induced by the payment of large fubfidies to take part with France, was ftill more unfortunate this campaign than Lewis. The Dutch, the Spaniards, the Danes, became at once his enemies. He was defeated by the elector of Brandenburg, whofe territories he had invaded, and loft all Pomerania. Bremerfurt was taken by the troops of Brunfwic-Lunenburg; Wolgaft, by thofe of Brandenburg; and Wifmar fell into the hands of the Danes[55].

It was now the crifis for the king of England by a vigorous concurrence with the allies, to have regained the confidence of his people and the refpect of all Europe. He might have fet bounds for ever to the power of France, and have been the happy inftrument of preventing all thofe long and bloody wars, which were occafioned by the difputes in regard to the Spanifh fucceffion, as well as thofe which have been the confequence of a prince of the houfe of Bourbon being eftablifhed on the throne of Spain. Charles was not ignorant of the importance of his fituation; but, inftead of taking advantage of it, to reftrain the ambition of Lewis XIV. he thought only of acquiring

54. Voltaire, ubi fup.

55. *Mem. de Brandeburg.*

money

money to squander upon his pleasures, by selling his neutrality to that monarch! A new secret treaty was accordingly concluded between the two kings, by which they obliged themselves to enter into no treaties without mutual consent; and in which Charles farther stipulates, in consideration of an annual pension, to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, should it attempt to force him to declare war against France[56].

LETTER XIII. A.D. 1676.

THUS secure of the neutrality of England, Lewis made vigorous preparations for carrying on the war in Flanders, and was early in the field in person. He laid siege to Condé in the month of April, and took it by storm. Bouchaine fell into his hands by the middle of May; the prince of Orange, who was ill supported by his allies, not daring to attempt its relief, on account of the advantageous position of the French army. After facing each other for some time, the two

56. Rouvigny to Lewis XIV. Jan. 9, and Feb. 27, 1676, in *Dalrymple's Append.* The proofs that Charles was a pensioner of France, do not rest solely upon these Letters. They are also to be found in *King James's Mem.* and the *Danby Papers*. Bolingbroke seems to have been perfectly acquainted with them; and very justly observes, That Charles II. by this meanness, whatever might be his motives for submitting to it, "established the superiority of France in Europe." (*Letters on the Study of History.*) Unprincipled as the ministers of Charles were, it is with pleasure that we learn from Rouvigny's dispatches, not one of them heartily concurred in this infamous treaty. "Hence," says he to his master, "your majesty will plainly see, that *in all England*, there is *only* the "*king* and the *duke* of *York*, who *embrace* your *interests* with *affection!*" (Feb 27, 1676.) And in a future letter he adds, in confirmation of this singular exception, "I can answer for it to your majesty, that there are "none of your *own subjects* who *wish* you *better success*, in *all your under*-"*takings*, than *these two princes*; but it is also true, that you cannot "*count* upon any, but these *two friends*, in *all England!*" (Jan. 28, 1677.) The ambassador's only fear therefore was, that Charles might be "*drawn* "into the *sentiments* of his *people!*" And the PENSION was esteemed a necessary "*new tye*," to bind him to the *interests* of *France*. Rouvigny, ubi sup.

armies

PART II. A.D. 1676 armies withdrew to a greater diſtance, as if by mutual conſent, neither chuſing to hazard an engagement. The king of France, with his uſual avidity of praiſe, and want of perſeverance, returned to Verſailles, leaving the command of his army to Mareſchal Schomberg: and the prince of Orange, on the departure of Lewis, laid ſiege to Maeſtricht. The trenches were opened toward the end of July, and many deſperate aſſaults made, and ſeveral outworks taken; but all without effect. The place made a gallant defence; ſickneſs broke out in the confederate army; and on the approach of Schomberg, who had already taken Aire, the prince of Orange was obliged to abandon his enterpriſe[57]. The taking of Philipſburg, by the Imperialiſts, was the only ſucceſs that attended rhe arms of the allies during the campaign.

France was no leſs ſucceſsful by ſea than by land. Lewis XIV. had very early diſcovered an ambition of forming a powerful navy: and during the war between England and Holland, in which he was engaged, his ſubjects had acquired in perfection the art of ſhip-building, as well as the moſt approved method of conducting ſea-engagements, by means of ſignals, ſaid to have been invented by the duke of York. An accidental circumſtance now afforded Lewis an opportunity of diſplaying his naval ſtrength, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of Europe.

Messina in Sicily had revolted from Spain; and a French fleet, under the duke de Vivonne, was ſent to ſupport the citizens in their rebellion. A Dutch and Spaniſh ſquadron ſailed to oppoſe Vivonne; but, after an obſtinate combat, Meſſina was relieved by

57. *Temple's Memoirs*, part ii.

the

the French. Another engagement enſued near Auguſta, rendered famous by the death of the gallant de Ruyter, and in which the French had alſo the advantage. A third battle, more deciſive than any of the former, was fought off Palermo. The combined fleet, to the number of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, nineteen gallies, and four fire-ſhips, was drawn up in a line without the mole, and under cover of the fortifications. The diſpoſition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet Vivonne, or rather du Queſne, who commanded under him, and was a great naval officer, did not heſitate to venture an attack with a ſquadron inferior in ſtrength. The battle was ſuſtained with great vigour on both ſides; until the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, ſent ſome fire-ſhips in among the enemy. All was now confuſion and terror. Twelve capital ſhips were ſunk, burnt, or taken; five thouſand men loſt their lives; and the French, riding undiſputed maſters of the Mediterranean, endangered the total revolt of Naples and Sicily [58].

LETTER XIII. A.D. 1676.

A CONGRESS had been opened at Nimeguen in the beginning of the year; but no progreſs, it was found, could be made in negociation, till the war had taken a more deciſive turn. The diſappointment of the allies, in the events of the campaign, had now much damped their ſanguine hopes; and the Hollanders, on whom the whole weight of the war lay, ſeeing no proſpect of a general pacification, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a ſeparate treaty with France. They were loaded with debts and harraſſed with taxes; their commerce languiſhed; and, excluſive of the diſadvantages attending all leagues, the weakneſs of

58. Le Clerc. vol. ii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

PART II. A.D. 1676. the Spaniards, and the divisions and delays of the Germans, prognosticated nothing but disgrace and ruin. They themselves had no motive for continuing the war, beside a desire of securing a good frontier to Flanders; yet gratitude to their allies inclined them to try whether another campaign might not produce a peace that would give general satisfaction. And the prince of Orange, actuated by ambition and animosity against France, endeavoured to animate them to a steady perseverance in their honourable resolution.

In the mean time the eyes of all parties were turned toward England. Charles II. was universally allowed to be the arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace which he would have prescribed could have been refused by any of the contending powers. The Spaniards believed, that he would never suffer Flanders to be subdued by France; or, if he could be so far lost to his own interest, that the parliament would force him to take part with the confederates 59. The

A.D. 1677. Feb. 15. parliament was at last assembled, in order to appease the murmurs of the people, after a recess of upward of twelve months. Disputes about their own rights engaged the peers for a time, and the commons proceeded with temper, in taking into consideration the state of the navy, which the king had recommended to their attention. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and easy session. But the rapid and unexpected progress of the French arms soon disturbed this tranquillity, and directed to other objects the deliberations of both houses.

Lewis, having previously formed large magazines in Flanders, had taken the field in February. Attend-

59. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. ii.

ed

ed by his brother the duke of Orleans, his minister Louvois, Vauban, and five marefchals of France, he undertook the fiege of Valenciennes; and by the judicious advice of Vauban, who recommended an affault to be made in the morning, when it would be leaft expected, in preference to the night, the ufual time for fuch attempts, the place was carried by furprife[60]. Cambray furrendered after a fhort fiege; and St. Omers was clofely invefted, when the prince of Orange, with an army haftily affembled, marched to its relief. The fiege was covered by the dukes of Orleans and Luxembourg; and as the prince was determined to endeavour to raife it, be the confequences what they might, an obftinate battle was fought at Mont Caffel; where, by a fuperior movement of Luxembourg, William was defeated, in fpite of his moft vigorous efforts, and obliged to retire to Ypres. His behaviour was gallant, and his retreat mafterly; but St. Omers fubmitted to the arms of France[61].

March 17.

April 11.

Justly alarmed at fuch extraordinary fuccefs, the Englifh parliament prefented an addrefs to the king, reprefenting the danger to which the kingdom was expofed from the greatnefs of France, and praying that he would form fuch alliances as fhould both fecure his own dominions and the Spanifh Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king returned an evafive anfwer, and the commons thought it neceffary to be more particular. They entreated him to interpofe immediately in favour of the confederates; and, in cafe a war with

60. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

61. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. ii. In attempting to rally his difperfed troops, the prince ftruck one of the runaways acrofs the face with his fword. "Rafcal!"—cried he, "I will fet a mark on "you at prefent, that I may hang you afterward." Id. ibid.

 France

PART II. A.D. 1677. France ſhould be the conſequence of ſuch interference, they promiſed to ſupport him with all neceſſary aids and ſupplies. Charles, in his anſwer, artfully expreſſed his deſire of being *firſt* put in a *condition* to *accompliſh* the *deſign* of their *addreſs*. This was underſtood as a demand for money; but the commons were too well acquainted with the king's connexions with France, to hazard their money in expectation of alliances which they believed would never be formed, if the ſupplies were granted before hand. Inſtead of a ſupply, they therefore voted an addreſs, in which "they beſought his majeſty to enter into a league, "*offenſive*, and *defenſive*, with the States General of the "United Provinces, againſt the growth and power "of the French king, and for the preſervation of the "Spaniſh Netherlands; and to make ſuch other alli-"ances with the confederates as ſhould appear fit and "uſeful for that end[62]." They ſupported their advice with arguments; and concluded with aſſuring the king, that when he ſhould be pleaſed to declare ſuch an alliance in parliament, they would moſt chearfully ſupport his meaſures with plentiful and ſpeedy ſupplies. Pretending reſentment at this addreſs, as an encroachment on his prerogative, Charles made an angry ſpeech to the commons, and ordered the parliament to be adjourned.

Had the king, my dear Philip, been prompted to this meaſure (as an author, no wiſe prejudiced againſt him, very juſtly obſerves) by a real jealouſy of his prerogative, it might merit ſome applauſe, as an indication of vigour; but when we are made acquainted with the motives that produced it, when we know that it proceeded from his ſecret engagements with

62. Journals, May, 25, 1677.

France,

France, and his disappointment in not obtaining a large sum to dissipate upon his pleasures, it furnishes a new instance of that want of sincerity which disgraced the character of Charles[63]. When he thus urged the commons to strengthen his hands for war, he had actually sold his neutrality to France, as I have already had occasion to notice; and had he obtained the supply required for that end, he would no doubt have found expedients to screen his conduct, without entering into war, or even breaking off his private correspondence with Lewis. But to make an *offensive* and *defensive alliance* with the *Confederates* the *condition* of a *supply*, he foresaw would deprive him of the *secret subsidy*, and throw him upon the mercy of his commons, whose confidence he had deservedly lost, and whose spirit he was desirous to subdue. Considering *his* views, and the engagements *he* had formed, he acted with prudence; but both were unworthy of a king of England.

While Charles, lolling in the lap of pleasure, or wasting his time in thoughtless jollity, was thus ingloriously sacrificing the honour of his kingdom and the interests of Europe, in consideration of a contemptible pension from a prince to whom he might have given law, the eyes of his subjects were anxiously turned toward the political situation of the contending powers, and the events of rhe campaign. In Spain, domestic faction had been added to the other misfortunes of a kingdom long declining, through the weakness of her councils, and the general corruption of her people. Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV. had taken arms against the queen-regent, and advanced toward Madrid; and, although disap-

63. Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* chap. i.

PART II. A.D. 1677.

pointed in his expectations of support, he returned to Saragossa, fortune soon after favoured his ambition. The young king, Charles II. escaping from his mother, ordered her to be shut up in a convent at Toledo, and declared Don John prime minister. But the hopes entertained of his abilities were not answered by the event. The misfortunes of Spain increased on every side.

In Catalonia Monterey was defeated: Bracamonte lost the battle of Forumina in the kingdom of Sicily; and Flanders, in consequence of the capture of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omers, was laid open to absolute conquest. The prince of Orange, in order to atone for his defeat at Cassel, sat down before Charleroy; but on the appearance of the French army, under mareschal Luxembourg, he was forced to raise the siege[64]. William, though possessed of considerable talents for war, was inferior to this experienced general; and seems always to have wanted that happy combination of genius and skill, which is necessary to form the great commander.

On the Upper Rhine, Charles V. duke of Lorrain, who had succeeded his uncle rather in the title than in the territory of that duchy, commanded a body of the allies. The prince of Saxe-Eisinach, at the head of another army, endeavoured to enter Alsace. But the mareschal de Crequi, with an inferior force, defeated the views of the duke of Lorrain, though an able officer. He obliged him to retire from Mentz; he hindered him from crossing the Maese; he beat up his posts, he cut off his convoys; and having gained an advantage over the allies, near Cokersberg,

64. Pelison, tom. iii.

LETTER XIII.

A.D. 1677.

berg, he closed the campaign on that side with the taking of Friburg. The baron de Montclar, who defended Alsace, was no less successful. After various movements, he inclosed the troops of the prince of Saxe-Eisinach within his own, and forced them to capitulate near Strasburg[65]. The king of Sweden, however, was not equally fortunate with his illustrious ally; he had still the worst in the war, notwithstanding the taking of Elseinbourg, and a victory gained over the king of Denmark. His fleet was twice defeated by the Danes, and the elector of Brandenburg took from him the important fortress of Stettin[66].

During the rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders, serious negociations had been begun between Lewis and the States General of the United Provinces, and an eventual treaty was actually concluded; by which all differences were adjusted, and nothing wanting to the restoration of peace, but the concurrence of their respective allies. The misfortunes of the confederates, and the supine indifference of England, seemed to render peace necessary to them. But had they been sufficiently acquainted with the state of France, they would have had fewer apprehensions from the continuance of the war. Though victorious in the field, she was exhausted at home. The successes which had rendered her the terror of her neighbours, had already deprived her, for a time, of the power of hurting them. But the ignorance of mankind continued their fears: the apprehensions of Europe remained; and Lewis derived more glory from his imaginary than from his real force.

65. Id. ibid. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii. 66. *Mem. de Brandenburg.*

PART II. A.D. 1677.

THESE apprehenſions were very great in England. In parliament they were made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of ambition and faction, as well as of patriotiſm; and they awakened dangerous diſcontents among the people. Murmurs were heard from all ranks of men. Willing to put an end to diſſatisfactions that diſturbed his repoſe, Charles made a new attempt to gain the confidence of his people. His brother's bigotted attachment to popery, and his own unhappy connections with France, he was ſenſible had chiefly occaſioned the loſs of his popularity. To afford the proſpect of a Proteſtant ſucceſſion to the throne, and procure a general peace to Europe, could not therefore fail, he thought, of quieting the minds of his ſubjects. He accordingly encouraged propoſals of marriage from the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, his brother's eldeſt daughter, and preſumptive heireſs to the crown, the duke of York having then no male iſſue, and the king no legitimate offspring. By ſo tempting a match he hoped to engage the prince entirely in his intereſts; and to ſanctify with William's approbation ſuch a peace as would ſatisfy France, and tend to perpetuate his own connections with Lewis.

WILLIAM came over to England at the cloſe of the campaign; and whatever might be his motives for ſuch a conduct, he acted a part highly deſerving of applauſe, whether we examine it by the rules of prudence or delicacy. He refuſed to enter upon buſineſs before he had been introduced to the lady Mary; declaring that, as he placed great part of his happineſs in domeſtic ſatisfaction, no conſideration of intereſt or policy could ever induce him to marry a perſon who was not perfectly agreeable to him. The lady Mary,

whom

whom he found in the bloom of youth, and very amiable both in mind and perfon, exceeded his higheft hopes; but he ftill refufed to concert any meafures for the general peace, until his marriage fhould be concluded. His allies, who, as things ftood, were likely to have hard terms, would otherwife, he faid, be apt to fufpect that he had made this match at their coft. "And I am determined," added he, "it fhall never "be faid, that I fold my honour for a wife[67]!" Charles, who affected to fmile at thefe punctilios, perfifted in his refolution of making the peace precede the marriage; but finding the prince inflexible, he at laft confented to the nuptials, which were celebrated at St. James's to the inexpreffible joy of the nation.

LETTER XIII. A.D. 1670.

THIS matrimonial alliance gave great alarm to the king of France. A junction of England with the confederates, he concluded, would be the immediate confequence of fo important a ftep, taken not only without his confent, but without his knowlege or participation. Charles, however, endeavoured to quiet his apprehenfions, by adjourning the parliament from the third of December to the fourth of next April; a term late for granting fupplies, or forming preparations for war[68]. In the mean time the king, the prince of Orange, the lord-treafurer Danby, and fir William Temple, held confultations relative to a general peace; and the earl of Feverfham was difpatched to France with conditions fufficiently favourable to the allies, and yet not difhonourable to Lewis.

Two days only were allowed the French monarch for the acceptance or refufal of the peace, and the

67. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii. 68. *Dalrymple's Append.*

English

PART II. A.D. 1677. English ambaſſador had no power to negociate. But he was prevailed on to ſtay ſome days longer, and returned at laſt without any poſitive anſwer. "My ambaſſador at London," ſaid Lewis, "ſhall have "full powers to finiſh the treaty to the ſatisfaction of "the king. And I hope my brother will not break "with me for one or two towns[69]." The French ambaſſador declared, that he had leave to yield all the towns required, except Tournay; and even to treat of ſome equivalent for that, if the king thought fit. Charles was ſoftened by the moderation of Lewis. The prince of Orange, who had given vigour to the Engliſh councils, was gone; and delay ſucceeded delay in the negociations, until the French monarch, having taken the field early, made himſelf maſter of Ghent and Ypres, after having threatened Mons and Namur[70].

March 9, A.D. 1678.

THESE conqueſts, which completed the triumph of France, filled the Dutch with terror, and the Engliſh with indignation. But Lewis managed matters ſo artfully in both nations, that neither proved a bar in the way of his ambition. Through his intrigues with the remains of the Loveſtein party in Holland, he increaſed the general deſire of peace, by awakening a jealouſy of the deſigns of the prince of Orange on account of his eagerneſs for continuing the war. In England, he not only maintained his connexions with Charles, but gained to his intereſt many of the popular members in both houſes of parliament, who were leſs afraid of the conqueſt of Flanders than of truſting the king with an army to defend it. So great, however, was the ardour of the people of England for war, that both the king and parliament were obliged to give way to it. An army of twenty thouſand men, to the

69. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii. 70. Id. ibid. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

A.D. 1678.

aſtoniſhment of Europe, was completed in a few weeks; and part of it was ſent over, under the duke of Monmouth, to ſecure Oſtend. Meanwhile Charles, in conſideration of the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds, ſecretly engaged to diſband his army, and to permit Lewis to make his own terms with the confederates; and the commons alſo, ſwayed by French influence, but ignorant of the king's engagements, and even deſirous to thwart his meaſures, voted that the army ſhould be diſbanded[71]! Baſeneſs ſo complicated, in men of the moſt exalted ſtations, makes us almoſt hate human nature; and the generous mind, in contemplating ſuch a motley groupe, without regard to impoſing names, beholds with equal indignation the penſioned king and the hireling patriot[72].

Having nothing now to dread from the only two powers that could ſet bounds to his empire, Lewis aſſumed the ſtyle of a conqueror; and, inſtead of yielding to the terms offered by Charles, he himſelf dictated the articles of a peace, which, by placing all the barrier towns of Flanders in his hands, left that coun-

71. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii. Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 157, 159.

72. That ſome of the popular members in both houſes of parliament received money from the court of France, is a truth too notorious to be denied, though painful to relate. And to ſay they abetted no meaſure, which they did not believe to be for the good of their country, is but a poor apology for their venality. A ſenator who can be prevailed on to accept a bribe, it is to be feared, will readily perſuade himſelf of the rectitude of any meaſure, for the ſupport of which that bribe is offered. Of this lord Ruſſell ſeems to have been fully convinced; for although willing to co-operate with France, in order to prevent Charles II. from becoming abſolute, (as ſoon as informed that Lewis XIV. began to diſcover that ſuch a change in the Engliſh government would be againſt his intereſt) he was ſtartled when told by Barillon, that he had "a conſiderable ſum to diſtribute in parliament to obſtruct the vote of "ſupply."—"I ſhould be ſorry," ſaid he, "to have any *communication* "with *men* who can be *gained* by *money*." *Dalrymple's Append.*

try

PART II. A.D. 1678. try open to his future inroads. This imperious proceeding, and other aggravating circumftances, occafioned great murmurs in England, and the king feemed at length difpofed to enter heartily into the war. But the confederates had been too often deceived, to truft any longer to the fluctuating counfels of Charles. Negociations for a general peace advanced toward a conclufion at Nimeguen; and as the emperor and Spain, though leaft able to continue the war, feemed refolved to ftand out, Van Beverning, the Dutch ambaffador, more prudently than honourably, figned a feparate treaty with France[73]. That treaty, which occafioned much clamour among the confederates, was ratified by the States; and all the other powers were at laft obliged to accept the terms prefcribed by the French monarch.

The principal of thefe terms were, That Lewis, befide Franche-Compté, which he had twice conquered, fhould retain poffeffion of Cambray, Aire, St. Omers, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Caffel, Charlemont, and other places; that he fhould reftore Maeftricht to the States, the only place belonging to the United Provinces which he now retained; that Spain fhould be again put in poffeffion of Charleroy, Oudenard, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg; that the emperor fhould give up Fribourg to France, and retain Philipfbourg; that the elector of Brandenburg fhould reftore to Sweden his conquefts in Pomerania, and that the treaty of Weftphalia fhould remain in full force over Germany and the North[74]. The duke of Lorrain was the only prince who refufed to be included in the peace of Nimeguen: he chofe rather to become a foldier of fortune,

73. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii. 74. Hainault, an. 1678. *Mem. de Brandenburg.* Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

and

and to command the imperial armies, than to accept his dominions on the conditions propofed by Lewis. LETTER XIII.

A. D. 1678.

THE prince of Orange was fo much enraged at this peace, that he took a very unwarrantable ftep to break it. He attacked the quarters of the duke of Luxembourg at St. Denis near Mons, after the treaty was figned, and when the duke repofed on the faith of it, in hopes of cutting off the whole French army [75]. But he gained no decided advantage; and this bold violation of the laws of humanity, if not of thofe of nations, was attended with no other confequence than the lofs of many lives on both fides.

THE king of England alfo, difgufted with Lewis, and afhamed of having been fo long the tool of a monarch to whofe ambition he might have given law, endeavoured to perfuade the States to difavow their ambaffador, and refufe to ratify the peace. But the Dutch had made too good terms for themfelves to think of immediately renewing the war; and Charles, though denied the ftipulated bribe for his ignominious neutrality, foon returned to his former connexions with France [76].

THUS, my dear Philip, was Lewis XIV. highly exalted above every other European potentate. He had greatly extended his dominions, in defiance of a powerful confederacy; and he had fecured very important conquefts, by treaty. His minifters, in negociating, had appeared as much fuperior to thofe of other nations, as his generals in the field. He had given law to Spain, Holland, and the empire: his arms had humbled his moft formidable neighbours, and his ambition threatened the independency of all.

75. Voltaire, ubi fup. Burnet, book iii. 76. *Dalrymple's Append.*

The

PART II. A. D. 1678.

The farther progress of that ambition we shall afterward have occasion to trace. In the mean time we must carry forward the domestic history of Great Britain.

LETTER XIV.

ENGLAND, *from the Popish Plot, in* 1678, *to the Death of* CHARLES II. *with a retrospective View of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the seeming eagerness of Charles II. for war, toward the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, he was never believed to be sincere. So utterly had he lost the confidence of his people, that his best measures were supposed to proceed from bad motives: nay, the more popular any measure appeared, the more it was suspected of some dangerous purpose. A general terror prevailed of popery and arbitrary power: dark surmises were propagated; and the king and the duke of York, in conjunction with France, were justly considered as the great enemies of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

THESE apprehensions, inflamed by the violence of faction, and turned upon a particular object by the forgeries of artful men, gave birth to the famous imposture known by the name of the POPISH PLOT; the most extraordinary example of frenzy and delusion that ever distracted an unhappy people. But before we enter on that mysterious business I must carry forward the affairs of Scotland, with which it was intimately connected.

SOON

LETTER XIV.

A. D. 1667.

Soon after the suppression of the insurrection in the West of Scotland, in 1666, and the severe punishment of the fanatical insurgents, the king was advised to try milder methods for bringing the people over to episcopacy. With this view, he intrusted the government to the earl of Tweedale, and sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. In order to compose the religious differences, which still ran high, these ministers adopted a scheme of *comprehension*; by which it was proposed to diminish the authority of the bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the Presbyters[1]. But this scheme alarmed the jealousy of the zealous teachers of those times. They chose rather to deliver their wild harangues, at the hazard of their lives, to conventicles in woods and mountains, than have any communication with antichristian institutions, which they esteemed dangerous and criminal. "Touch not! "taste not! handle not!" was their common cry; and the king's ministers, perceiving that advances to such men could only serve to debase the dignity of government, by being contemptuously rejected, gave up the project of *comprehension*, and adopted that of *indulgence*.

A. D. 1668.

A. D. 1669.

In the prosecution of this new scheme, they proceeded with great temper and judgment. Some of the most enlightened of the Presbyterian teachers were settled in vacant churches, without being obliged to conform to the established religion; and salaries of twenty pounds a year were offered to the rest, till they should be otherwise provided for, on condition that they behaved themselves with decency and moderation. This offer was universally rejected; as the king's

1. Burnet, vol. i.

bribe

PART II. A. D. 1669. bribe for silence; and those teachers who were settled in the vacant churches soon found their popularity decline, when they delivered only the simple doctrines of Christianity. By ceasing to rail against the church and state, called *preaching* to the *times*, they got the name of *dumb dogs*, who were supposed to be afraid to bark[2]. The churches were again deserted, for the more vehement and inflammatory discourses of the field: preachers and conventicles multiplied daily in the West; where the people, as formerly, came armed to their places of worship.

When this fanaticism was at its height, Lauderdale was appointed commissioner to the Scottish parliament, which met on the 19th of October. The zealours Presbyterians, the chief assertors of liberty, were unable to oppose the measures of the court; so that the tide ran strongly toward monarchy, if not despotism. By one act it was declared, That the right of governing the church was inherent in the king; and by another, the number of the militia (established by the undue influence of the crown about two years before) was settled at twenty-two thousand men; who were to be constantly armed, regularly disciplined, and held in readiness to march to any part of his majesty's dominions, where their service might be required, for the support of his authority, power, or greatness[3]. Thus was Charles invested with absolute sway in Scotland, and even furnished with the means of becoming formidable to his English subjects, whose liberties he wished to subdue.

A. D. 1670. A severe act against conventicles followed these arbitrary laws, on which Lauderdale highly valued himself, and which induced the king to make him

2. Id. ibid. 3. Burnet, ubi sup.

ſole miniſter for Scotland. Ruinous fines were impoſed on the Preſbyterians, who met to worſhip in houſes, and field-preachers and their hearers were to be puniſhed with death. But laws that are too ſevere defeat their own end. The rigours exerciſed againſt conventicles in Scotland, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit of the fanatics, ſerved only to render them more obſtinate; to increaſe the fervour of their zeal, to bind them more cloſely together, and to inflame them againſt the eſtabliſhed religion. The commonalty every where in the low country, but more eſpecially in the weſtern counties, frequented conventicles without reſerve; and although the gentry themſelves ſeldom viſited thoſe illegal places of worſhip, they took no meaſures to repreſs that irregularity in their inferiors, whoſe liberty they ſeemed to envy. In order to prevent this connivance, a bond or contract was tendered A.D. 1678. to the landlords in the Weſt, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in caſe any tenant frequented a conventicle, the landlord was to ſubject himſelf to the ſame fine that could by law be exacted from the offender[4].

But it was ridiculous to give ſanction to laws by voluntary contracts; it was iniquitous to make one man anſwerable for the conduct of another, and it was illegal to impoſe ſuch hard conditions upon men who had no way offended[5]. For theſe reaſons the greater part of the gentry refuſed to ſign the bonds required; and Lauderdale, enraged at ſuch firmneſs, endeavoured to break their ſpirit by an expedient truly tyrannical. Becauſe the weſtern counties abounded in conventicles, though otherwiſe in a ſtate of profound peace, he pretended that they were in a ſtate of actual

4. Burnet, vol. ii.

5. Hume, vol. viii.

PART II. A.D. 1678. rebellion. He made therefore an agreement with ſome Highland chiefs to call out their followers, to the number of eight thouſand; who, in conjunction with the guards, and the militia of Angus, were ſent to live at free quarter upon the lands of ſuch gentlemen as had rejected the bonds.

As the weſtern counties were the moſt populous, and the moſt induſtrious in Scotland, and the Highlanders the men leaſt civilized, it is more eaſy to imagine than to deſcribe the havoc that enſued. An army of Barbarians, trained up in rapine and violence, unaccuſtomed to diſcipline, and averſe from the reſtraints of law, was let looſe among a ſet of people, whom they were taught to regard as the enemies of their prince and their religion. Nothing eſcaped their ravenous hands: neither age, nor ſex, nor innocence afforded protection. And leſt the cry of an oppreſſed people ſhould reach the throne, the council forbade, under ſevere penalties, all noblemen and gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom[6].

Notwithstanding this ſevere edict, the duke of Hamilton, with ten other noblemen, and about fifty gentlemen of diſtinction, went to London, and laid their complaints before the king. Charles was ſhocked at their narrative, but he took no effectual means to remedy the grievances of which they complained. "According to your repreſentation," ſaid he, "Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things in the government of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has, in any thing, acted contrary to my intereſt." What muſt the intereſts of a king be, when they are unconnected with the welfare of his people!

6. Burnet, vol. ii.

MEAN-

LETTER XIV.

A.D. 1678.

MEANWHILE Lauderdale ordered home the Highlanders; and taking advantage of the abfence of the diffatisfied noblemen and gentlemen, he fummoned a convention of eftates at Edinburgh. And this affembly, to the eternal difgrace of the nation, fent up an addrefs to the king approving of Lauderdale's government. But as the means by which that addrefs was procured were well known, it ferved only to render both the king and his minifter more odious in Scotland, and to fpread univerfal alarm in England; where all men concluded, that as, in the neighbouring kingdom, the very voice of liberty was totally fuppreffed, and grievances fo rivetted that it was become dangerous even to mention them, every thing was to be feared from the arbitrary difpofition of Charles. If, by a Proteftant church, perfecution could be carried to fuch extremes, what, it was afked, might not be dreaded from the violence of popery, with which the kingdom was threatened?—and what from the full eftablifhment of abfolute power, if its approaches were fo tyrannical?—Such were the reafonings of men, and fuch their apprehenfions in England, when the rumour of a Popifh plot threw the whole nation into a panic.

THE chief actor in this horrid impofture, which occafioned the lofs of much innocent blood, was a needy adventurer, named Titus Oates, one of the moft profligate of mankind. Being bred to the church, he obtained a fmall living, which he was obliged to abandon on account of a profecution for perjury. He was afterward chaplain on board a man of war, but was difmiffed for an unnatural crime[7]. In his neceffity, he came to London, the former fcene of his de-

7. Burnet, vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1678.

baucheries, where he got acquainted with Dr. Tongue, a city divine, who for ſome time fed and clothed him. Tongue himſelf was no perfect character, being a man of a credulous temper, and of an intriguing diſpoſition. A lover of miſchief, to ſpread ſcandal was his chief amuſement, and to propagate the rumour of plots his higheſt delight. By his advice Oates, whom he found to be a bold impudent fellow, agreed to reconcile himſelf to the Romiſh communion, in order to diſcover the deſigns of the Catholics connected with the Engliſh court; to go beyond ſea, and to enter into the ſociety of the Jeſuits. All theſe directions Oates implicitly followed. He became a papiſt; viſited different parts of France and Spain; reſided ſome time in a ſeminary of Jeſuits at St. Omers; but was at laſt diſmiſſed on account of bad behaviour, by that politic body, who never ſeem to have truſted him with any of their ſecrets[8].

Oates, however, ſetting his wicked imagination at work, in order to ſupply the want of materials, returned to England burning with reſentment againſt the Jeſuits, and with a full reſolution of forming the ſtory of a Popiſh plot. This he accompliſhed in conjunction with his patron, Dr. Tongue; and one Kirby, a chemiſt, and Tongue's friend, was employed to communicate the intelligence to the king. Charles made light of the matter, but deſired to ſee Dr. Tongue; who delivered into his hands a narrative conſiſting of forty-three articles, of a conſpiracy to murder his majeſty, to ſubvert the government, and to re-eſtabliſh the catholic faith in England. The king,

8. Burnet, ubi ſup. See alſo *Danby's Mem.* Echard, Kennet, and James II. 1678.

having

having haftily glanced over the paper, ordered him to carry it to the lord-treafurer Danby, who treated the information more ferioufly than it feemed to deferve. Yet the plot, after all, would have funk into oblivion, on account of the king's difregard to a tale accompanied with fuch incredible circumftances, had it not been for an artful contrivance of the impoftors, that gave to the whole a degree of importance of which it was unworthy.

Tongue, who was continually plying the king with frefh information, acquainted the lord-treafurer, by letter, that a packet, written by Jefuits, concerning the plot, and directed to Bedingfield, confeffor to the duke of York, would foon be delivered. Danby, who was then in Oxfordfhire, haftened to court; but before his arrival, Bedingfield had carried the letters to the duke, protefting that he did not know what they meant, and that they were not the hand-writing of the perfons whofe names they bore. The duke carried them to the king; who was farther confirmed, by this incident, in his belief of an impofture, and of the propriety of treating it with contempt. But the duke, anxious to clear his confeffor and the followers of his religion from fuch an horrid accufation, infifted on a thorough inquiry into the pretended confpiracy before the council. The council fat upon the bufinefs: Kirby, Tongue, and Oates were brought before them; and although the narrative of the latter was improbable, confufed, and contradictory, the plot made a great noife, and obtained fuch univerfal credit, that it was confidered as a crime to difbelieve it.

The fubftance of Oates's evidence was, That he had been privy, both at home and abroad, to many con-

PART II. A.D. 1678. ſultations among the Jeſuits for the aſſaſſination of Charles II. who, they ſaid, had deceived them; that Grove and Pickering, the one an ordained Jeſuit, the other a lay brother, were at firſt appointed to ſhoot the king, but that it had afterward been reſolved to take him off by poiſon, by bribing ſir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, and a papiſt; that many Jeſuits had gone into Scotland, in diſguiſe, to diſtract the government of that kingdom, by preaching ſedition in the field-conventicles; that he himſelf had aſſiſted at a conſultation of Jeſuits in London, where it was reſolved to diſpatch the king by the dagger, by ſhooting, or by poiſon; and that, when he was buſy in collecting evidence for a full diſcovery, he was ſuſpected, and obliged to ſeparate himſelf from them, in order to ſave his own life [9].

The letters ſent to Bedingfield were produced, in ſupport of this evidence; and although they bore as evident marks of forgery as the narrative of impoſture, the council iſſued orders for ſeizing ſuch accuſed perſons as were then in London. Sir George Wakeman was accordingly apprehended, together with Coleman, late ſecretary to the ducheſs of York; Langhorne, an eminent barriſter at law, and eight Jeſuits, among whom was Pickering [10]. Theſe ſteps of the council ſtill farther alarmed the nation: the city was all in an uproar; and apprehenſion and terror every where prevailing, the moſt abſurd fictions were received as certain facts.

But this ferment would probably have ſubſided, and time might have opened the eyes of the public

9. Burnet, &c. ubi ſupra. See alſo Oates's *Narrative.*
10. Id. Ibid.

so as to discern the imposture, had it not been for certain collateral circumstances, which put the reality of a popish plot beyond dispute, in the opinion of most men. An order had been given, by the lord-treasurer, to seize Coleman's papers. Among these were found some copies of letters to father la Chaise, the French king's confessor, to the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and to other Catholics abroad; and as Coleman was a weak man, and a wild enthusiast in the Romish faith, he had insinuated many extraordinary things to his correspondents, in a mysterious language, concerning the conversion of the three British kingdoms, and the total ruin of the Protestant religion, which he termed pestilent heresy. He founded his hopes on the zeal of the duke of York, and spoke in obscure terms of aids from abroad, for the accomplishment of what he denominated a *glorious work* [11].

LETTER XIV. A.D. 1678.

These indefinite expressions, in the present state of men's minds, were believed to point distinctly at all the crimes in Oates's narrative; and as Coleman's letters for the last two years, which were supposed to contain the unfolding of the whole plot, had been conveyed out of the way before the others were seized, full play was left for imagination. Another incident completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation incurable. This was the murder of sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who had taken the deposition of Oates relative to his first narrative. He was found dead in a ditch near Primrose Hill, between London and Hampstead, with his sword thrust through his body, his money in his pocket, and the rings on

11. Coleman's Letters.

PART II. A.D. 1678.

his fingers. From theſe laſt circumſtances it was inferred, that his death had not been the act of robbers: it was therefore univerſally aſcribed to the reſentment of the Catholics; though it appears, that he had always lived on a good footing with that ſect, and was even intimate with Coleman at the time that he took Oates's evidence [12].

ALL poſſible advantage, however, was taken of this incident, in order to inflame the popular phrenzy. The dead body of Godfrey was expoſed to view for two whole days: the people in multitudes crouded around it; and every one was rouſed to a degree of rage approaching madneſs, as well by the mutual contagion of ſentiments, as by the moving ſpectacle. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp and parade: the corpſe was conducted through the chief ſtreets of the city; ſeventy-two clergymen walked before, and above a thouſand perſons of diſtinction concluded the proceſſion behind [13]. To deny the reality of the plot, was now to be reputed an accomplice; to heſitate was criminal. All parties concurred in the deluſion, except the unfortunate Catholics; who, though conſcious of their own innocence, began to be afraid of a maſſacre ſimilar to that of which they were accuſed. But their terror did not diminiſh that of others. Invaſions from abroad, inſurrections at home, conflagrations, and even poiſonings were apprehended. Men looked with wild anxiety at one another, as if every interview had been the laſt. The buſineſs of life was at a ſtand: all was panic, clamour, and confuſion, which ſpread from the capital over the whole kingdom; and reaſon, to uſe the words of a philoſophical hiſtorian, could no more be heard, in the pre-

12. Burnet, vol. ii. 13. North.

ſent

fent agitation of the human mind, than a whifper in the midft of the moft violent hurricane[14]. LETTER XIV. A.D. 1678.

During this national ferment the parliament was affembled; and the earl of Danby, who hated the Catholics, who courted popularity, and perhaps hoped that the king would be more cordially beloved by the nation, if his life was fuppofed to be in danger from the Jefuits, opened the ftory of the plot in the houfe of peers. Charles, who wifhed to keep the whole matter from the parliament, was extremely difpleafed with this temerity, and faid to his minifter, "You "will find, though you do not believe it, that you "have given the parliament a handle to ruin your-"felf, as well as to difturb all my affairs: and you "will certainly live to repent it!" Danby had afterward fufficient reafon to revere the fagacity of his mafter.

The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from the upper to the lower houfe. The authority of parliament gave fanction to that fury with which the people were already animated. The commons voted an addrefs for a folemn faft, and a form of prayer was framed for that occafion. Oates was brought before them; and finding that even the femblance of truth was no longer neceffary to gain credit to his fictions, he made a bolder publication of his narrative at the bar of the houfe, adding many new and extraordinary circumftances. The moft remarkable of thefe were, That the pope having refumed the fovereignty of England, on account of the herefy of prince and people, had thought proper to delegate the fupreme power to the fociety of Jefuits; and that de

14. Hume, vol. viii.

Oliva,

PART II. A.D. 1678. Oliva, general of that order, in consequence of the papal grant, had supplied all the principal offices, both civil and military, with Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, many of whom he named. On this ridiculous evidence, the earl of Powis, with the lords Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellasis were committed to the Tower, and soon after impeached for high treason: and both houses voted, without one dissenting voice, "That there has been, and still is, a *damnable* and *hellish Plot*, contrived and carried on by "papists, for murdering the king, subverting the "government, and destroying the Protestant religion[15]?"

Encouraged by this declaration, new informers appeared. Coleman and a number of other Catholics were brought to trial, whose only guilt appeared to be that of their religion. But they were already condemned by the voice of the nation. The witnesses in their favour were ready to be torn in pieces; and the jury, and even the judges, discovered strong symptoms of prejudice against them. Little justice could be expected from such a tribunal. Many of those unhappy men died with great firmness, and all protesting their innocence to the last[16]; yet these solemn testimonies, after all hopes of life had failed, could not awaken compassion for their fate in the breast of a single spectator. They were executed amid the shouts of the deluded populace, who seemed to enjoy their sufferings.

From the supposed conspirators in the popish plot, the parliament turned its views to higher objects. A

15. *Journals*, October 31, 1678. 16. Burnet, vol. ii.

bill

bill was introduced, by the commons, for a new Teſt, in which *popery* was denominated *idolatry*; and all the members, who refuſed this teſt, were to be excluded from both houſes. The bill paſſed the lower houſe, without oppoſition, and was ſent up to the lords. The duke of York moved in the houſe of peers, that an exception might be admitted in his favour; and with great earneſtneſs, and even with tears in his eyes, he ſaid, he was now to throw himſelf on their kindneſs, in the greateſt concern he could have in this world. He dwelt much on his duty to the king, and his zeal for the proſperity of the nation; and he ſolemnly proteſted, that whatever his religion might be, it ſhould be only a *private thing* between God and his own ſoul, and never ſhould influence his public conduct. This exception being agreed to, the bill was returned to the commons; and, contrary to all expectation, the amendment was carried by a majority of two votes [17]. LETTER XIV. A.D. 1678.

THE rage againſt popery, however, continued; and was in nothing more remarkable than in the encouragement given by the parliament to informers. Oates, who, granting his evidence true, muſt be regarded as an infamous ſcoundrel, was recommended by the two houſes to the king. He was rewarded with a penſion of twelve hundred pounds a year; guards were appointed for his protection; men of the firſt rank courted his company, and he was called the Saviour of the nation. The employment of an informer became honourable; and, beſide thoſe wretches who appeared in ſupport of Oates's evidence, a man high in office aſſumed that character.

17. *Journals*, Nov. 22, 1678.

MON-

PART II. A.D. 1678.

Montague, the Englifh ambaffador at the court of France, difappointed in his expectation of being made fecretary of ftate, returned without leave, and took his feat in the lower houfe. He had been deeply concerned in the money negociations between Charles and Lewis. On the late difagreement of thefe two princes, he had been gained by the latter; and now, on the failure of his hopes of preferment from the court of England, he engaged, for one hundred thoufand crowns, to difgrace the king, and to ruin his minifter, who was become peculiarly obnoxious to France [18]. Danby, having fome intimation of this intrigue, ordered Montague's papers to be feized; but that experienced politician, prepared againft the poffibility of fuch a circumftance, had delivered into fure hands the papers that could moft effectually ferve his purpofe. The violence of the minifter afforded a kind of excufe for the perfidy of the ambaffador. Two of Danby's letters were produced before the houfe of commons. One of thefe contained inftructions to demand three hundred thoufand pounds a year, for three years, from the French monarch, provided the conditions of peace fhould be accepted at Nimeguen, in confequence of Charles's good offices; and, as Danby had forefeen the danger of this negociation, the king, in order to remove his fears, had fubjoined with his own hand, that the letter was written by his exprefs orders [19].

This circumftance rather inflamed than allayed the refentment of the commons, who naturally concluded, that the king had all along acted in concert with the French court, and that every ftep which he

18. *Dalrymple's Append.* p. 193. See alfo *Danby Papers.*

19. *Journals*, Dec. 14, 1678.

had taken, in conjunction with the allies, had been illusory and deceitful. It was immediately moved, That there is sufficient matter of impeachment against the lord-treasurer; and the question was carried by a considerable majority. Danby's friends were abashed, and his enemies were elated beyond measure with their triumph. The king himself was alarmed: his secret negociations with France, before only suspected, were now ascertained. Many who wished to support the crown were ashamed of the meanness of the prince, and deserted their principles in order to save their reputation.

THE articles exhibited against the treasurer were six in number; and consisted, beside the letters, of various mismanagements in office, most of which were either frivolous or ill founded. Danby, upon the whole, had been a cautious minister. When the impeachment was read in the house of peers, he rose and spoke to every article. He shewed that Montague, the informer against him, had himself promoted with ardour the money-negociations with Lewis. He cleared himself from the aspersion of alienating the king's revenue to improper purposes: and he insisted particularly on his known aversion against the interests of France; declaring, that whatever compliances he might have made, he had always esteemed a connexion with that kingdom pernicious to his master and destructive to his country [20]. The lords went immediately into a debate on the question; and, upon a division, the majority were against the commitment of Danby. The commons however insisted, that he should be sequestered from parliament and committed. A violent contest was likely to ensue; and the king,

20. *Journals of the Lords*, Dec. 2?, 1678.

who

PART II. A.D. 1679. Jan. 25. who thought himſelf bound to ſupport his miniſter, and ſaw no hopes of ending the diſpute by gentle means, firſt prorogued, and afterward diſſolved the parliament.

THIS was a deſperate remedy in the preſent critical ſtate of the nation, and did not anſwer the end propoſed. It afforded but a temporary relief, if it may not be ſaid to have increaſed the diſeaſe. The new parliament, which the king was under the neceſſity of aſſembling, conſiſted chiefly of the moſt violent of the former members, reinforced by others of the ſame principles. The court had exerted its influence in vain: the elections were made with all the prejudices of the times. The king's connexions with France had alienated the affections of his ſubjects; but the avowed popery of the duke of York was a ſtill more dangerous ſubject of jealouſy and diſcontent. Senſible that this was the fatal ſource of the greater part of the misfortunes of his reign, and foreſeeing the troubles that were likely to be occaſioned by the violent ſpirit of the new repreſentatives, Charles conjured his brother to conform to the eſtabliſhed church. He even ſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Wincheſter to perſuade him, if poſſible, to become again a Proteſtant; and on finding all their arguments loſt on his obſtinacy, he deſired him to withdraw beyond ſea, in order to appeaſe the people, and to ſatisfy the parliament that popiſh counſels no longer prevailed at court. This propoſal the duke alſo declined, as he apprehended that his retiring would be conſtrued into an acknowledegment of guilt; but when the king inſiſted on his departure, as a ſtep neceſſary for the welfare of both, he obeyed, after engaging Charles to make a public declaration of the

6 ille-

illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth. He went first to Holland, and then to Bruſſels, where he fixed his reſidence [21].

LETTER XIV.

A. D. 1679.

JAMES duke of Monmouth, natural ſon of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the Reſtoration, poſſeſſed all the qualities that can engage the affections of the populace, with many of thoſe that conciliate the favour of the more diſcerning part of mankind. To a gracefulneſs of perſon, which commanded reſpect, he joined the moſt winning affability; by nature tender, he was an enemy to cruelty: he was conſtant in his friendſhips, and juſt to his word. Active and vigorous in his conſtitution, he excelled in the manly exerciſes of the field. He was perſonally brave, and loved the pomp, and the very dangers of war; but he was vain even to a degree of folly, verſatile in his meaſures, and weak in his underſtanding. This weakneſs rendered him a fit tool for the earl of Shafteſbury, the moſt able and unprincipled man of his age, and who had lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his oppoſition againſt the court, as formerly by the violence of his counſels in its favour, while one of the Cabal. That bold and arch-politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of ſucceeding to the crown. A ſtory had even been propagated of his legitimacy, in conſequence of a ſecret contract of marriage between the king and his mother. This ſtory was greedily received by the multitude: and on the removal of the duke of York from the kingdom, and the proſpect of his being excluded from the ſucceſſion by the jealouſy of parliament, it was hoped that Monmouth would be declared

21. Burnet, vol. ii. James II. 1679.

prince

PART II. A.D. 1679.

prince of Wales But Charles, in order to cut off all such expectations, as well as to quiet his brother's apprehensions, made a solemn declaration before the privy council, that he was never married to any woman but the queen; and on finding that Monmouth continued to encourage the belief of the lawfulness of his birth, the king renewed his protestation, and made it particular against Lucy Walters[22].

The subsequent events of this reign, my dear Philip, furnish abundant matter for the memorialist; but, the struggle between the king and parliament excepted, they have little relation to the line of general history. I shall, therefore, pass them over slightly, offering only the most important to your notice. One could wish that the greater part of them were erased from the English annals.

The new parliament, no way mollified by the dismission of the duke of York, discovered all the violence that had been feared by the court. The commons revived the prosecution of the earl of Danby: they reminded the lords of his impeachment; and they demanded justice, in the name of the people of England. Charles, determined to save his minister, had already had the precaution to grant him a pardon. That he now avowed in the house of peers; declaring that he could not think Danby in any respect criminal, as he had acted in every thing by his orders. The lower house, paying no regard to this confession, immediately voted, that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the commons

22. Kennet, vol. iii. Hume, vol. viii.

A.D. 1679.

of England[23]. The lords ſeemed at firſt to adhere to the pardon, but yielded at laſt to the violence of the commons; and Danby, after abſconding for a time, ſurrendered to the Black Rod, and was committed to the Tower.

CHARLES, in order to ſooth the commons, made a ſhew of changing his meaſures. Several popular leaders of both houſes were admitted into the privy council; particularly ſir Henry Capel, lord Ruſſell, the earl of Shafteſbury, and the viſcounts Hallifax and Fauconberg, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to the court. The earl of Eſſex, a popular nobleman, was advanced to the head of the treaſury, in the room of the earl of Danby; and the earl of Sunderland, a man every way qualified for ſuch an office, was made ſecretary of ſtate.

BY thus placing the moſt violent patriots, either real or pretended, in his ſervice, the king hoped to regain the affections of his parliament. But he was miſerably diſappointed. The commons received his declaration of a new council with the greateſt indifference and coldneſs; believing the whole to be a trick, in order to obtain money, or an artifice to induce the country-party to drop their purſuit of grievances, by diſarming with offices the violence of their leaders. They therefore continued their deliberations with unabating zeal; and reſolved, without

23. The prerogative of mercy had been hitherto underſtood to be altogether unlimited in the crown; ſo that this pretenſion of the commons was perfectly new. It was not, however, unſuitable to the genius of a monarchy ſtrictly limited; where the king's miniſters are ſuppoſed to be accountable to the national aſſembly even for ſuch abuſes of power as they may commit by orders from their maſter.

PART II. A.D. 1679. one diſſenting voice, "That the duke of York's being "a papiſt, and the hopes of his coming, as ſuch, to "the crown, has given the greateſt countenance and "encouragement to the plots againſt the king and "the Proteſtant religion[24].

THIS being conſidered as an introductory ſtep to the eventual excluſion of the duke from the throne, Charles, in order to prevent ſuch a bold meaſure, laid before the parliament certain limitations; which, without altering the ſucceſſion to the crown, he thought ſufficient to ſecure the civil and religious liberties of the ſubject. The limitations propoſed were very important: they deprived a popiſh ſucceſſor of the right of beſtowing eccleſiaſtical promotions, and of either appointing or diſplacing privy counſellors or judges, without the conſent of parliament. The ſame precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord-lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of counties, and to all officers of the navy[25].

THESE ample conceſſions, which in a manner annihilated the power of the crown, were rejected with contempt by the commons. They brought in a bill for the total excluſion of the duke of York, and they continued their proſecution againſt Danby. They reſolved, That the pardon which he claimed was illegal and void; and, after ſome conferences with the lords on the ſubject, a day was fixed for his trial. Preparations were alſo made for the trial of the popiſh lords in the Tower.

24. *Journals*, April 27, 1679. 25. Ibid. May 10.

In the mean time a furious dispute arose between the two houses, occasioned by a resolution of the commons, "That the lords *spiritual* ought not to "have any *vote* in *any* proceedings against the lords in "the Tower[26]." This resolution involved a question of no small importance, and was of peculiar consequence in the present case. Though the bishops were anciently prohibited by the canon law, and afterward by established custom, from assisting at capital trials, they generally sat and voted in motions preparatory to such trials. The validity of Danby's pardon was first to be debated; and although but a preliminary, was the hinge on which the whole must turn. The commons, therefore, insisted upon excluding the bishops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court: the lords were unwilling to make any alteration in the forms of their judicature: both houses adhered to their respective pretensions: and Charles took advantage of their quarrels, first to prorogue, and then to dissolve the parliament; setting aside, by that measure, the trial of his minister, and, for a time, the Bill of Exclusion against his brother[27].

Though this parliament, my dear Philip, is reprehensible on account of its violence and its credulity; and although some of its members seem to have been actuated by a spirit of party, and a strong antipathy against the royal family, while others were influenced by the money of France, or the intrigues of the prince of Orange, the greater number were animated by a real spirit of patriotism; by an honest zeal for

26. *Journals*, May 17.

27. Danby and the popish lords, Stafford excepted, whose fate I shall have occasion to relate, after lying in the Tower till 1684, were admitted to bail on petition.

PART II. A.D. 1679. their civil and religious liberties. Of this the Exclusion Bill and the *Habeas Corpus* Act are sufficient proofs. The latter, which particularly distinguishes the English constitution, can never be too much applauded.

The personal liberty of individuals is a property of human nature, which nothing but the certainty of a crime committed ought ever to abridge or restrain. The English nation had, accordingly, very early and repeatedly, as we have seen, secured by public acts this valuable part of their rights as men; yet something was still wanting to render personal freedom complete, and prevent evasion or delay from ministers and judges. The act of *Habeas Corpus*, passed last session, answered all these purposes, and does equal honour to the patriotism and the penetration of those who framed it and carried it into a law. This act prohibits the sending of any English subject to a prison beyond sea; and it provides, that no judge shall refuse to any prisoner a writ, by which the gaoler is directed to produce in court the body of such prisoner, and to certify the cause of his detainer and commitment.

The general rage against popery, and the success of the country-party in the English parliament, raised the spirit of the Scottish Covenanters, and gave new life to their hopes. Their conventicles, to which they went armed, became more frequent and numerous; and though they never acted offensively, they frequently repelled the troops sent to disperse them. But even this small degree of moderation could not long be preserved by a set of wild enthusiasts, who thought every thing lawful for the support of their godly cause; who were driven to madness by the

oppressions

oppreſſions of a tyrannical government, and flattered, by their friends in England, with the proſpect of relief from their troubles. A barbarous violence increaſed the load of their calamities.

LETTER XIV.
A. D. 1679.

SHARPE, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, was deſervedly obnoxious to the Covenanters. Having been deputed by the Scottiſh clergy at the Reſtoration, to manage their intereſts with the king, he had betrayed them. He ſoon after openly abandoned the Preſbyterian party; and when epiſcopacy was eſtabliſhed in Scotland, his apoſtacy was rewarded with the dignity of primate. To him was chiefly entruſted the conduct of eccleſiaſtical affairs; and, in order to recommend himſelf to the court, he perſecuted the Covenanters, or non-conformiſts, with unrelenting rigour. It was impoſſible for human beings to ſuffer ſo many injuries, without being ſtimulated againſt their author by the keeneſt emotions of indignation and revenge. A band of deſperate fanatics, farther influenced by the hope of doing an acceptable ſervice to Heaven, way-laid the archbiſhop in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews; and, after firing into his coach, diſpatched him with many wounds[29].

THIS atrocious action furniſhed the miniſtry with a pretext for a more ſevere perſecution of the Covenanters; on whom, without diſtinction, they threw the guilt of the murder of Sharpe. The troops quartered in the weſtern counties received orders to diſperſe, by force, all conventicles, wherever they ſhould be found. This ſeverity obliged the Convenanters to aſſemble in large bodies; and their ſucceſs in repelling the king's forces, emboldened them to ſet

29. Burnet, vol. ii. Wodrow, vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1679. forth a declaration againſt epiſcopacy, and publicly to burn the acts of parliament which had eſtabliſhed that mode of eccleſiaſtical government in Scotland. They took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, and eſtabliſhed a kind of preaching camp in the neighbourhood; whence they iſſued proclamations, declaring that they fought againſt the king's ſupremacy in religious matters, againſt popery, prelacy, and a popiſh ſucceſſor [30].

CHARLES, alarmed at this inſurrection, diſpatched the duke of Monmouth, with a body of Engliſh cavalry, to join the royal army in Scotland, and ſubdue the fanatics. Monmouth came up with the Covenanters at Bothwel-bridge, between Glaſgow and Hamilton, where a rout rather than a battle enſued, and the inſurgents were totally diſperſed. About ſeven hundred of theſe perſecuted and miſguided men fell in the purſuit, and twelve hundred were made priſoners. But, the execution of two clergymen excepted, this was all the blood that was ſhed. Monmouth uſed his victory with great moderation. Such priſoners as would promiſe to live peaceably, in future, were diſmiſſed.

THAT lenity, however, unfortunately awakened the jealouſy of the court. Monmouth was recalled and diſgraced; and the duke of York, who had found a pretence to return to England, was entruſted with the government of Scotland. Under his adminiſtration, the Covenanters were expoſed to a cruel perſecution; and ſuch puniſhments were inflicted upon them, even on frivolous pretences, as make humanity ſhudder, and would disfigure the character of any prince leſs marked with ſeverities than that of James. He is ſaid to have been frequently preſent at the torturing of the un-

30. Id. Ibid.

happy

happy criminals, and to have viewed their sufferings with as much unfeeling attention, as if he had been contemplating some curious experiment[31]. LETTER XIV.

WHILE these things were passing in Scotland, a new parliament was assembled in England, where the spirit of party still raged with unabated fury. Instead of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers* (or those who applied for redress of grievances, and such as opposed their petitions) into which the nation had been for some time divided, the court and country parties came now to be distinguished by the still prevailing epithets of WHIG and TORY. The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of *Whigs*; and the country party pretended to find a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of *Tory* was affixed[32]. Such was the origin of those party-names, which will, in all probability, continue to the latest posterity. A.D. 1680.

THE new parliament discovered no less violence than the former. The commons voted, That it is the undoubted right of the subjects of England to petition the king for the sitting of parliament and the redress of grievances; and they resolved, That to traduce such petitioning is to betray the liberty of the people, to contribute to subvert the ancient constitution, and to introduce arbitrary power. They renewed the vote of their predecessors, laying the whole blame of the Popish Plot on the religion of the duke of York; and they brought in a bill for excluding him from the

31. Burnet, vol. ii. This account of the apathy of James is confirmed by his letters in Dalrymple's *Append.* part i.

32. Burnet, vol. ii. Hume, vol. viii.

 throne,

PART II. A.D. 1680.

throne. This bill was paſſed, after a warm debate, and carried up to the houſe of peers; where Shafteſbury and Sunderland argued powerfully for it, and Halifax no leſs ſtrenuouſly againſt it. Through the forcible reaſoning of the latter, who diſcovered an extent of abilities, and a flow of eloquence which had never been exceeded in the Engliſh parliament, the bill was rejected by a conſiderable majority of the lords[33].

Enraged at this diſappointment, the commons diſcovered their ill humour in many violent and unjuſtifiable proceedings. They proſecuted the Abhorrers, they impeached the judges, and they perſecuted all the moſt intimate friends of the duke of York. At laſt they revived the impeachment of the popiſh lords in the Tower, and ſingled out the viſcount Stafford as their victim. He was accordingly brought to trial; and although labouring under age and infirmities, he defended himſelf with great firmneſs and preſence of mind, exhibiting the moſt ſtriking proofs of his innocence. Yet, to the aſtoniſhment of all unprejudiced men, he was condemned by a majority of twenty-four voices. He received with ſurpriſe, but reſignation, the fatal verdict; and the people, who had exulted over his conviction, were ſoftened into tears at his execution, by the venerable ſimplicity of his appearance. He continued on the ſcaffold to make earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and expreſſed a hope that the preſent deluſion would ſoon be over. A ſilent aſſent to his aſſeverations was obſerved through the vaſt multitude of weeping ſpectators; whilſt ſome cried, in a faultering accent, "We believe you, my "Lord!" The executioner himſelf was touched with

33. Burnet, vol. ii. James II. 1680.

the general ſympathy. Twice did he ſuſpend the blow, after raiſing the fatal ax; and when at laſt, by a third effort, he ſevered that nobleman's head from his body, all the ſpectators ſeemed to feel the ſtroke[34]. LETTER XIV. A.D. 1680.

THE execution of Stafford opened, in ſome meaſure, the eyes of the nation, but did not diminiſh the violence of the commons. They ſtill hoped, that the king's urgent neceſſities would oblige him to throw himſelf wholly upon their generoſity. They therefore brought in a bill for an aſſociation to prevent the duke of York, or any Papiſt, from ſucceeding to the crown; and they voted, That whoever had adviſed his majeſty to refuſe the Excluſion Bill were enemies to the king and kingdom. Nor did they ſtop here. They reſolved, That until a bill to exclude the duke of York ſhould paſs, the commons could grant the king no ſupply, without betraying the truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents. And that Charles might not be enabled, by any other expedient, to ſupport the government, and preſerve himſelf independent, they farther reſolved, That whoever ſhould thereafter advance money on the cuſtoms, exciſe, or hearth-money; or whoever ſhould accept or buy any tally of anticipation upon any part of the king's revenue, ſhould be adjudged to hinder the ſitting of parliament, and become reſponſible for his conduct at the bar of the houſe of commons[35]. A.D. 1681.

HAVING got intelligence of theſe violent proceedings, Charles came to a reſolution to prorogue the parliament; for although he was ſenſible, that the peers, who had rejected the Excluſion Bill, would ſtill continue to defend the throne, he ſaw no

34. Burnet, vol. ii. Hume, vol. viii. 35. Journals, Dec. 1680, and Jan. 1681.

hope

PART II.
A. D. 1681.

hope of bringing the commons to any better temper; and was perſuaded that their farther ſitting could only ſerve to keep faction alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation. When they received information of his deſign, they reſolved, That whoever adviſed his majeſty to prorogue his parliament, for any other purpoſe than to paſs the Bill of Excluſion, was a betrayer of the king; an enemy to the Proteſtant religion, and to the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French intereſt, and a penſioner of France [36]. This furious reſolution, and others of the ſame nature, determined the king inſtantly to diſſolve the parliament, inſtead of proroguing it.

Both parties had now carried matters ſo far, that a civil war ſeemed inevitable, unleſs the king, contrary to his fixed reſolution of not interrupting the line of ſucceſſion, ſhould agree to paſs the Bill of Excluſion. Charles ſaw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. A variety of circumſtances, however, conſpired to preſerve the nation from that extremity, and to fling the whole powers of government finally into the hands of the king.

The personal character of Charles, who, to uſe the words of one who knew him well, with great *quickneſs* of *conception*, *pleaſantneſs* of *wit*, and *variety* of *knowledge*, "had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole compoſition [37]," had always rendered him the idol of the populace. The moſt affable, beſt bred man alive, he treated his ſubjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vaſſals or boors. His profeſſions were plauſible, and his whole behaviour engaging; ſo that he won upon the hearts, even while he loſt the good opinion of his

36. *Journals*, Jan. 10, 1681.

37. Sir William Temple.

ſubjects,

subjects, and often balanced their judgment of things by their *perfonal* inclination [38]. LETTER XIV.

A.D. 1681.

THESE qualities, and this part of his conduct, went a great way to give the king hold of the affections of his people. But thofe were not all. In his public conduct too he ftudied, and even obtained a degree of popularity; for although he often embraced meafures, inconfiftent with the political interefts of the nation, and fometimes dangerous to the liberty and religion of his fubjects, he had never been found to perfevere obftinately in them, but had always returned into that path which the general opinion feemed to point out to him. And, as a farther excufe, his worft meafures were all afcribed to the bigotry and arbitrary principles of his brother. If he had been obftinate in denying, to the voice of his commons, the Bill of Exclufion, he had declared himfelf ready to pafs any other bill, that might be deemed neceffary to fecure the civil and religious liberties of his people during the reign of a Popifh fucceffor, provided it did not tend to alter the defcent of the crown in the true line. This, by the nation at large, was thought no unreafonable conceffion; and, if accepted, would have effectually feparated the king from the duke of York, unlefs he had changed his religion, inftead of uniting them together by a fear made common to both. But the dye was thrown; and the leaders of the Whig party were refolved to hazard all, rather than hearken to any thing fhort of abfolute exclufion [39].

THIS violence of the commons increafed the number of the king's friends among the people. And he did not fail to take advantage of fuch a fortunate circumftance,

38. Bolingbroke, *Differtation on Parties.* 39. Burnet, vol. ii.

in

PART II.
A.D. 1681.

in order to ſtrengthen his authority, and to diſconcert the deſigns of his enemies. He repreſented to the zealous abettors of epiſcopacy, the multitude of Preſbyterians and other ſectaries who had entered into the Whig party, both in and out of parliament; the encouragement and favour they met with, and the loudneſs of their clamours againſt popery and arbitrary power; which, he inſinuated, were intended only to divert the attention of the more moderate and intelligent part of the kingdom from their republican and fanatical views. By theſe means, he made the nobility and clergy apprehend, that the old ſcheme for the abolition of the church and monarchy was revived; and that the ſame miſeries and oppreſſions awaited them, to which they had been ſo long expoſed during the former, and yet recent uſurpations of the commons.

The memory of thoſe melancholy times alſo united many cool and unprejudiced perſons to the crown, and begot a dread leſt the zeal for civil liberty ſhould ingraft itſelf once more on religious enthuſiaſm, and deluge the nation in blood. The king himſelf ſeemed not to be totally free from ſuch apprehenſions. He therefore ordered the new parliament to aſſemble at Oxford, that the Whig party might be deprived of all that encouragement and ſupport, which they might otherwiſe derive from the vicinity of the great and factious city of London. The party themſelves afforded a ſtriking proof of the juſtice of the king's fears. Sixteen peers, all violent Excluſioniſts, with the duke of Monmouth at their head, preſented a petition againſt the ſitting of the parliament at Oxford; "where the two houſes," they ſaid, "could "not deliberate in ſafety; but would be expoſed to "the ſwords of the Papiſts and their adherents, of "whom too many had crept into his Majeſty's "guards."

"guards [40]." These insinuations, which so evidently pointed at Charles himself, were thrown out merely to inflame the people, not to persuade the king of the terror of the parliament; and, instead of altering his resolution, they served only to confirm him in the propriety of it.

In assembling a new parliament, so soon as two months after the dissolution of the former, Charles had little expectation of meeting with a more favourable disposition in the commons. But he was desirous to demonstrate his willingness to meet that national assembly; hoping, if every method of accommodation should fail, that he would be the better enabled to justify himself to the mass of his people, in coming to a final breach with the representative body. The commons, on their part, might readily have perceived, from the place where they were ordered to meet, that the king was determined to act with firmness. But they still flattered themselves, that his urgent necessities and his love of ease would ultimately make him yield to their vehemence. They therefore filled the whole kingdom with tumult and noise. The elections went every where against the court; and the popular leaders, armed, and confident of victory, came to Oxford attended by numerous bands of their partizans. The four members for the city of London, in particular, were followed by large companies, wearing in their hats ribbons, in which were woven the blood-stirring words, *No Popery! no Slavery!* The king also made a shew of his strength. He entered Oxford in great pomp. His guards were regularly mustered; his party collected their force; and all things, on both sides, wore more the appearance of

40. Kennet, vol. iii. James II. 1681.

hostile

PART II. A.D. 1681.

hostile opposition than of civil deliberation or debate [41].

CHARLES, who had hitherto addressed his parliaments in the most soothing language, on this occasion assumed a more authoritative tone. He reproached the former house of commons with obstinacy, in rejecting his proffered limitations: he expressed a hope of finding a better temper in the present; and he assured both houses, that, as he should use no arbitrary government himself, he was resolved not to suffer tyranny in others [42]. The commons were not over-awed by this appearance of vigour. As they consisted chiefly of the same members that sat in the last parliament, they chose the same speaker, and discovered the same violence as formerly. They revived the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the Popish Plot, and the Bill of Exclusion.

THE king, who was offended at the absurd bigotry of his brother, and willing to agree to any measure that might gain the commons, without breaking the line of succession, permitted one of his ministers to propose, that the duke of York should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that, on the king's decease, the next heir, namely the princess of Orange, should be constituted regent, with regal power. This, as lord Bolingbroke humorously observes, was surely not to vote the lion in the lobby into the house: it would have been to vote him out of the house and lobby both, and only to suffer him to be called lion still [43]. But the past disappointments of the popular party, and the oppositiou made by the court, had

41. Kennet, vol. iii. 42. *Journals of the Lords*, March 21, 1681. 43. *Dissertation on Parties*, Lett. vii.

soured

ſoured their temper to ſuch a degree, that no method of excluding the duke, but their own, could give them ſatisfaction. The king's propoſal was, therefore, rejected with diſdain; and Charles, thinking he had now a ſufficient apology for adopting that meaſure, which he had foreſeen would become neceſſary, went privately to the houſe of peers, and diſſolved the parliament[44].

A SUDDEN clap of thunder could not more have aſtoniſhed the popular party, than did this bold ſtep. Prepared for no other but parliamentary reſiſtance, they gave all their towering hopes at once to the wind; and the great bulwark of oppoſition, which they had been ſo long employed in raiſing, quickly vaniſhed into air. They were made ſenſible, though too late, that they had miſtaken the temporizing policy of Charles for timidity, and his love of eaſe for want of vigour. They found, that he had patiently waited until things ſhould come to a criſis; and that, having procured a national majority on his ſide, he had ſet his enemies at defiance. No parliament, they knew, would be ſummoned for ſome years; and during that dangerous interval, they foreſaw that the court would have every advantage over a body of men diſperſed and diſunited. Their ſpirit left them with their good fortune: fears for themſelves ſucceeded to their violence againſt the crown. They were apprehenſive that a prince, whom they had offended and diſtreſſed, would uſe his victory with rigour. And they were not deceived.

FROM this time forward, the king became more ſevere in his temper, and jealous in his diſpoſition.

44. Burnet, vol. ii.

He

PART II.
A. D. 1681.

He immediately concluded a ſecret money-treaty with France, in order to enable him to govern without parliamentary ſupplies[45]; and he publiſhed a declaration, in vindication of his late violent meaſure. That declaration was ordered to be read in all the churches and chapels in England: the eloquence of the clergy ſeconded the arguments of the monarch: addreſſes, full of expreſſions of duty and loyalty, were ſent to him from all the legal ſocieties in the kingdom; and the people in general ſeemed to congratulate their ſovereign on his happy eſcape from parliaments[46]! The doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were revived; and the bench and the pulpit ſeemed to contend with each other, which could ſhew moſt zeal for unlimited power in the crown.

This was a ſtrange and ſudden revolution in the ſentiments of the nation: yet, had the king puſhed his victory no farther, had he been contented to enjoy his triumph without violence or injuſtice, his paſt conduct might have admitted of ſome apology, and the abettors of the prerogative might have awakened reſentment without kindling indignation. But Charles was unfortunately at the head of a faction, who ſeemed to think that the hour of retaliation was come; and as he had formerly temporized to quiet his enemies, he now judged it neceſſary to give way to the vehemence of his friends. In order to gratify the eſtabliſhed clergy, a ſevere perſecution was commenced againſt the Preſbyterians, and other Proteſtant ſectaries

45. *Dalrymple's Append.* James II.° 1681.

46. This remarkable change, as Burnet very judiciouſly obſerves, ſhews how little dependence can be placed on popular humours; which "have their ebbings and their flowings, their hot and cold fits, almoſt "as certainly as ſeas or fevers." *Hiſt. of his Own Times*, vol. ii.

taries who had been the chief ſupport of the Excluſioniſts in the houſe of commons; and the whole gang of ſpies, informers, and falſe witneſſes, who had been retained by the popular party, in order to eſtabliſh the reality of the popiſh plot, and whoſe perjuries had proved fatal to ſo many catholics, were now enliſted by the court, and played off as an engine againſt their former patrons. The royaliſts, to uſe the expreſſion of a nervous writer, thought their opponents ſo much covered with guilt, that *injuſtice* itſelf became *juſt* in their puniſhment[47]. LETTER XIV. A.D. 1681.

Every other ſpecies of retaliation but this, my dear Philip, may perhaps be vindicated, or admit of ſome excuſe. Let force revenge the violences committed by force: let blood ſtream for blood; let the pillage of one party repay the depredations of another; let the perſecuted, in their turn, become perſecutors, and the faggot mutually flame for the purgation of martyrs:—theſe are but temporary evils, and may ſoon be forgot; but let not the fountain of juſtice be poiſoned in its ſource, and the laws intended to protect mankind become inſtruments of deſtruction. This is the greateſt calamity that can befal a nation, famine and peſtilence not excepted, and may be conſidered as the laſt ſtage of political degeneracy.

In thoſe times of general corruption and abject ſervility, when all men ſeemed ready to proſtrate themſelves at the foot of the throne, the citizens of London ſtill retained their bold ſpirit of liberty and independency. The grand jury had judiciouſly rejected an indictment againſt the earl of Shafteſbury on account of the improbability of the circumſtances, after A.D. 1682.

47. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* chap. vi.

PART II. A.D. 1682. perjury had gone its utmost length. Enraged at this disappointment, the court endeavoured to influence the election of the magistrates, and succeeded; but as that contest, it was perceived, might be to renew every year, something more decisive was resolved upon. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was accordingly issued against the city: that is, an enquiry into the validity of a corporation charter, which is presumed to be defective, or to have been forfeited by some offence, to be proved in the course of suit. And although the cause of the city was powerfully defended, and the offences pleaded against it of the most frivolous kind, judgement was given in favour of the crown [48]. The aldermen and common-council, in humble supplication, waited upon the king; and Charles, who had now obtained his end, agreed to restore their charter, but on such terms as would put the proud capital entirely in his power. He reserved to himself the *approbation* of the principal magistrates; with this special proviso, that should his majesty twice disapprove of the lord-mayor or sheriffs elected, he might, by his own commission, appoint others in their room.

A. D. 1683.

FILLED with consternation at the fate of London, and convinced how ineffectual a contest with the court would prove, most of the other corporations in England surrendered their charters into the king's hands, and paid large sums for such new ones as he was pleased to frame. By these means a fatal stab was given to the constitution. The nomination of all the civil magistrates, with the disposal of all offices of power

48. Soon after the Revolution, this judgment was reversed by act of parliament: and it was at the same time enacted, that the privileges of the city of London shall never be forfeited by any delinquency whatever in the members of the corporation. Stat. 2 W. and M.

er profit, in every corporation in the kingdom, was in a manner vefted in the crown; and as more than three-fourths of the houfe of commons are chofen by the boroughs, the court was made fure of an undifputed majority. A perfect defpotifm was eftablifhed.

In fuch times, when it was become dangerous even to complain, refiftance might be imprudent; but no attempt for the recovery of legal liberty could be criminal, in men who had been born free. A project of this kind had for fome time been entertained by a fet of determined men, among whom were fome of the heads of the Country Party, though various caufes had hitherto prevented it from being brought to maturity; particularly the impeachment of the earl of Shaftefbury, the framer of the plot, and his unexpected departure for Holland, where he foon after died. But the zeal of the confpirators, which had begun to languifh, was rekindled by the feizure of the corporation charters, and a regular plan for an infurrection was formed. This bufinefs was committed to a council of fix; the members of which were, the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural fon, lord Ruffell, fon of the earl of Bedford, the earl of Effex, lord Howard, the famous Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandfon of the illuftrious patriot of that name.

These men had concerted an infurrection in the city of London, where their influence was great; in Scotland, by an agreement with the earl of Argyle, who engaged to bring the Covenanters into the field; and in the Weft of England, by the affiftance of the friends of liberty in that quarter. They had even taken meafures for furprifing the king's guards, though without any defign of hurting his perfon, the exclu-

PART II. ſion of the duke of York, and the redreſs of grievances, which they had found could not be obtained in a parliamentary way, being all they propoſed by riſing in arms. Sidney and Eſſex, indeed, are ſaid to have embraced the idea of a republic; but Ruſſell and Hambden, the more moderate and popular conſpirators, had no views but the reſtoration of the broken conſtitution of their country, and the ſecuring of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

While theſe important objects were in contemplation, but before any blow had been ſtruck, or even the time fixed for ſuch a purpoſe, the patriotic conſpirators were betrayed by one of their aſſociates, named Rumſey. Lord Howard, a man of no principle, and in needy circumſtances, alſo became evidence for the crown, in hopes of pardon and reward. Others of leſs note followed the infamous example. On their combined evidence ſeveral of the conſpirators were ſeized, condemned, and executed. Among theſe, the moſt diſtinguiſhed were Ruſſell and Sidney. Both died with the intrepidity of men who had reſolved to hazard their lives in the field, in order to break the fetters of ſlavery, and reſcue themſelves and their fellow-ſubjects from an ignominious deſpotiſm [49].

Monmouth,

49. Lord Grey's *Hiſt. of the Rye Houſe Plot.* *State Trials*, vol. iii. Law, if not juſtice, was violated in order to procure the condemnation of Sidney, whoſe talents the king feared. Ruſſell's popularity proved no leſs fatal to him. He was univerſally adored by the nation, and therefore a neceſſary victim in ſuch times. Charles accordingly reſiſted every attempt to ſave him; for he ſcorned, on his trial, to deny his ſhare in the concerted inſurrection. In vain did lady Ruſſell, the daughter of the loyal and virtuous Southampton, throw herſelf at the royal feet, and crave mercy for her huſband: in vain did the earl of Bedford offer an hundred thouſand pounds, through the mediation of the all-prevailing ducheſs

LETTER XIV.

A. D. 1683.

Monmouth, who had obfconded, furrendered on a promife of pardon; Effex put an end to his life in the Tower; and fufficient proof not being found againft Hambden to make his crime capital, he was loaded with an exorbitant fine; which, as it was beyond his ability to pay, was equivalent to the fentence of perpetual imprifonment[50].

THE defeating of this confpiracy, known by the name of the *Rye-houfe Plot*, contributed ftill farther to ftrengthen the hands of government, already too ftrong. The king was univerfally congratulated on his efcape; new addreffes were prefented to him; and the doctrine of implicit fubmiffion to the civil magiftrate, or an unlimited paffive obedience, was more openly taught. The heads of the univerfity of Oxford, under pretence of condemning certain doctrines, which they denominated republican, went even fo far as to pafs a folemn decree in favour of abfolute monarchy. The perfecution was renewed againft the Proteftant fectaries, and all the moft zealous friends of freedom, who were profecuted with the utmoft feve-

duchefs of Portfmouth, for the life of his fon. The king was inexorable. And in order to put a ftop to all farther importunity, he faid in reply to the earl of Dartmouth, one of his favourite courtiers, and lord Ruffel's declared enemy, but who yet advifed a pardon——"I "muft have his life, or he will have mine!" (Dalrymple's *Append.* and *Mem.* part i.) "My death," faid Ruffell, with a confolatory prefcience, when he found his fate was inevitable, "will be of more fervice to my country, than my life could have been!" Id. ibid.

50. Burnet, vol. ii. The feverity of Charles, in punifhing thefe over-zealous friends of freedom, feems to have been intended to ftrike terror into the whole popular party: and unfortunately for the criminals, a confpiracy of an inferior kind, which aimed at the king's life, being difcovered at the fame time, afforded him too good a pretext for his rigour. The *affaffination plot* was confounded, on all the trials, with that for an *Infurrection*.

 rity,

PART II. verity. The perverfion of juftice was carried to a
A.D. 1684. ftill greater excefs by the court; and the duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and reftored to the office of high admiral, without taking the Teft.

THIS violation of an exprefs act of parliament could not fail to give offence to the more difcerning part of the nation; but the duke's arbitrary counfels, and the great favour and indulgence fhewn to the Catholics, through his influence, were more general caufes of complaint. He, indeed, held entirely the reins of government, and left the king to purfue his favourite amufements; to loiter with his miftreffes, and laugh with his courtiers. Hence the celebrated faying of Waller:—"The king is not only defirous "that the duke fhould fucceed him, but is refolved, "out of fpite to his parliament, to make him reign "even in his life-time."

APPREHENSIVE, however, of new confpiracies, or fecretly ftruck with the iniquity of his adminiftration, Charles is faid ferioufly to have projected a change of meafures. He was frequently overheard to remonftrate warmly with his brother; and on finding him obftinate in his violent counfels, he refolved once more to banifh him the court, to call a parliament, and throw
A.D. 1685. himfelf wholly on the affections of his people. While revolving this idea, he was feized with a fit, refembling an apoplexy; which, after an interval of reafon, carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and not without fufpicions of poifon[51]. Thefe fufpicions fell not on the duke of York, but on fome of the duchefs of Portfmouth's Roman catholic fervants; who are fuppofed to have been worked upon by her confeffor, to

51. Burnet, vol. ii.

whom

whom ſhe had communicated the king's intentions, or by thoſe her confeſſor had truſted with the ſecret [52]. LETTER XIV. A. D. 1685.

THE great lines of Charles's character I have already had occaſion to delineate. As a prince, he was void of ambition, and deſtitute of a proper ſenſe of his dignity, in relation to foreign politics. In regard to domeſtic politics, he was able and artful, but mean and diſingenuous. As a huſband he was unfaithful, and neglectful of the queen's perſon, as well as of the reſpect due to her character. As a gentleman and companion, he was elegant, eaſy, gay, and facetious; but having little ſenſibility of heart, and a very bad opinion of human nature, he appears to have been incapable of friendſhip or gratitude. As a lover, however, he was generous, and ſeemingly even affectionate. He recommended, with his lateſt breath, the ducheſs of Portſmouth whom he had loaded with benefits, and her ſon, the duke of Richmond, to his brother: and he earneſtly requeſted him not to let poor Nell ſtarve [53]!—This was Nell Gwyn, whom the king had formerly taken from the ſtage; and who, though no longer regarded as a miſtreſs, had ſtill ſerved to amuſe him in a vacant hour [54]. So warm an attachment, in his laſt moments, to the objects of an unlawful paſſion, has been regarded, by a great divine and popular hiſtorian, as a blemiſh in the character of Charles. But the philoſopher judges differently: he is glad to find, that ſo profligate a prince was capable of any

52. Id. ibid. 53. Burnet, ubi ſup.

54. It may ſeem ſomewhat unaccountable that Charles, after ſo long an acquaintance, ſhould have left Nell in ſuch a neceſſitous condition, as to be in danger of ſtarving. But this requeſt muſt only be conſidered as a ſolicitous expreſſion of tenderneſs.

PART II. ſincere attachment; and conſiders even this ſympathy with the objects of ſenſuality, when the illuſions of ſenſe could no longer deceive, as an honour to his memory.

THE religion of Charles, and his receiving the ſacrament, on his death-bed, from Huddleſton, a popiſh prieſt, while he refuſed it from the divines of the church of England, and diſregarded their exhortations, have alſo afforded matter of reproach and altercation. But if the king was really a Roman catholic, as is generally believed, and as I have ventured to affirm on reſpectable authorities [55], he could neither be blamed for concealing his religion from his ſubjects, nor for dying in that faith which he had embraced. If, as others contend, he was not a catholic, his brother took a very extraordinary ſtep, in making him die in the Romiſh communion. But if he was ſo weak, when Huddleſton was introduced to him by the duke of York, as to be unable to refuſe compliance; if he agreed to receive the ſacrament from the divines of the church of England, but had not power to ſwallow the elements [56]; theſe circumſtances prove nothing but his own feeble condition, and the blind bigotry of his brother. The truth, however, ſeems to be, That Charles, while in high health, was of no particular religion; but that, having been early initiated in the catholic faith, he always fled to the altar of ſuperſtition, when his ſpirits were low, or when his life was thought in danger.

WE muſt now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general hiſtory, and examine the farther progreſs

55. Burnet, Halifax, Hume, &c. In confirmation of theſe authorities, ſee Barillon's *Letter to Lewis* XIV. Feb. 18, 1685, in Dalrymple's *Appendix.*

56. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* vol. i. chap. iv.

of

of the ambition of Lewis XIV. before we carry lower the affairs of England.

LETTER XV.

A General View of the Affairs on the Continent, from the Peace of NIMEGUEN *in* 1678, *to the League of* AUGSBURG, *in* 1687.

THE peace of Nimeguen, as might have been foreseen by the allies, instead of setting bounds to the ambition of Lewis XIV. only left him leisure to perfect that scheme of universal monarchy, or absolute sovereignty in Europe at least, into which he was flattered by his poets and orators; and which, at length, roused a new and more powerful confederacy against him. While the empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their supernumerary troops, Lewis still kept up all his; in the midst of profound peace, he maintained a formidable army, and acted as if he had been already the sole sovereign in Europe, and all other princes but his vassals. He established judicatures for reuniting such territories as had anciently depended upon the three bishopricks, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; upon Alsace, or any of his late conquests. These arbitrary courts enquired into titles buried in the most remote antiquity: they cited the neighbouring princes, and even the king of Spain, to appear before them, and to render homage to the king of France, or to behold the confiscation of their possessions.

LETTER XV. A.D. 1678.

No European prince, since the time of Charlemagne, had acted so much like a master and a judge

PART II. A.D. 1680. as Lewis XIV. The elector Palatine, and the elector of Treves, were diveſted of the ſignories of Falkenbourg, Germarſheim, Valdentz, and other places, by his imperious tribunals; and he laid claim to the ancient and free city of Straſburg, as the capital of Alſace. This large and rich city, which was miſtreſs of the Rhine, by means of its bridge over that river, had long attracted the eye of the French monarch: and his miniſter Louvois, by the moſt artful conduct, A.D. 1681. at laſt put him in poſſeſſion of it. He ordered troops to enter Lorrain, Franche Comté, and Alſace, under pretence of employing them in working on the fortifications in theſe provinces. But, according to concert, they all aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Straſburg, to the number of twenty thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of the ground between the Rhine and the city, as well as of the redoubt that covered the bridge. Louvois appeared at their head, and demanded that the town ſhould be put under the protection of his maſter. The magiſtrates had been corrupted, the inhabitants were all conſternation: the city opened its gates, after having ſecured its privileges by capitulation. Vauban, who had fortified ſo many places, here exhauſted his art, and rendered Straſburg the ſtrongeſt barrier of France [1].

Nor did Lewis behave with leſs arrogance on the ſide of the Low Countries. He demanded the county of Aloſt from the Spaniards, on the moſt frivolous, and even ridiculous pretence. His miniſter, he ſaid, had forgot to inſert it in the articles of peace; and as it was not immediately yielded to him, he A.D. 1683. blockaded Luxemburg [2]. Alarmed at theſe ambitious pretenſions, the empire, Spain, and Holland, began to

1. *Hiſt. d' Alſace*, liv. xxiii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiii. 2. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

take

take meaſures for reſtraining the encroachments of France. But Spain was yet too feeble to enter upon a new war, and the imperial armies were required in another quarter, to oppoſe a more preſſing danger.

The Hungarians, whoſe privileges Leopold had never ſufficiently reſpected, had again broke out into rebellion; and Tekeli, the head of the inſurgents, had called in the Turks to the ſupport of his countrymen. By the aſſiſtance of the baſha of Buda, he ravaged Sileſia, and reduced many important places in Hungary; while Mahomet IV. the reigning ſultan, was preparing the moſt formidable force that the Ottoman empire had ever ſent againſt Chriſtendom.

Leopold, foreſeeing that the gathering ſtorm would finally break upon Germany, beſide demanding the aſſiſtance of the princes of the empire, concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with John Sobieſki, king of Poland. Meanwhile the grand vizier, Kara Muſtapha, paſſing through Hungary, at the head of fifty thouſand janizaries, thirty thouſand ſpahis, and two hundred thouſand common men, aſſembled for the occaſion, with baggage, and artillery in proportion to ſuch a multitude, advanced towards Vienna. The duke of Lorrain, who commanded the imperial forces, attempted in vain to oppoſe the progreſs of the invader. The Turks, under the grand-vizier, took the right of the Danube, and Tekeli, with the Hungarians, the left. Seeing his capital threatened one every ſide, the emperor retired firſt to Lintz, and afterwards to Paſſau. Two thirds of the inhabitants followed the court; and nothing was to be ſeen, on all ſides, but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden

with

PART II. A. D. 1683

with movables [3]. The whole empire was thrown into consternation.

THE garrison of Vienna amounted to about fifteen thousand men, and the citizens able to bear arms to near fifty thousand. The Turks invested the town on the 17th of July; and they had not only destroyed the suburbs, but made a breach in the body of the place by the first of September. The duke of Lorrain had been so fortunate as to prevent the Hungarians from joining the Turks, but was unable to lend the garrison any relief; and an assault was every moment expected when a deliverer appeared. John Sobieski, king of Poland, having joined his troops to those of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Circles, made a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Calemberg, and inspired them with new hopes. Kara Mustapha, who, from a contempt of the Christians, had neglected to push the assault, and who, amidst the progress of ruin, had wantoned in luxury, was now made sensible of his mistake, when too late to repair it.

THE Chriftains, to the number of sixty-four thousand, descending the mountain, under the command of the king of Poland, the duke of Lorrain, and an incredible number of German princes. The grand vizier advanced to meet them at the head of the main body of the Turkish army, while he ordered an assault to be made upon the city with twenty thousand men, who were left in the trenches. The assault failed; and the Turks being seized with a panic, were routed almost without resistance. Only five hundred of the victors fell, and not above one thousand of the

3. *Annal de l' Emp.* om. ii. Barre, tom. x.

vanquished.

vanquished. And so great was the terror, and so precipitate the flight of the infidels, that they abandoned not only their tents, artillery, and baggage, but left behind them even the famous standard of Mahomet, which was sent as a present to the pope[4]! The Turks received another defeat in the plain of Barcan; and all Hungary, on both sides of the Danube, was recovered by the imperial arms. LETTER XV. A. D. 1683.

THE king of France, who had supported the malcontents in Hungary, and who encouraged the invasion of the Turks, raised however the blockade of Luxemburg, when they approached Vienna. "I "will never, said he, "attack a Christian prince, "while Christendom is in danger from the Infidels[5]." He was confident when he made this declaration, that the imperial city would be taken, and had an army on the frontiers of Germany, ready to oppose the farther progress of those very Turks whom he had invited thither! By becoming the protector of the empire, he hoped to get his son elected king of the Romans[6]. But this scheme being defeated, and the apprehensions of Christendom removed, by the relief of Vienna and the expulsion of the Turks, LEWIS returned to the siege of Luxemburg; and reduced, in a short time, not only that place, but also Coutray and Dixmude. A. D. 1684.

ENRAGED at these violences, the Spaniards declared war, and attempted to retaliate. And the prince of Orange was eager for a general confederacy against France; but not being able to induce his uncle, the king of England, to take part in it, he laid aside the design. The emperor, still deeply involved in the war with the Turks and Hungarians, could make no ef-

4. Id. ibid. 5. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiii. 6. Voltaire, ubi sup.

 fort

PART II.
A.D.1684.

fort on the ſide of Flanders; and the Spaniards alone were unequal to the conteſt in which, forgetting their weakneſs, they had raſhly engaged. A truce of twenty years was, therefore, concluded by Spain and the empire with France at Ratiſbon. The principal articles of this temporary treaty were, That Lewis ſhould reſtore Coutray and Dixmude, but retain poſſeſſion of Luxemburg, Straſburg, the fortreſs of Kehl, and part of the reunions made by his arbitrary courts eſtabliſhed at Metz and Briſac[7].

The glory and greatneſs of the French monarch were ſtill farther extended by means of his naval power. He had now raiſed his lately created marine to a degree of force that exceeded the hopes of France, and increaſed the fears of Europe. He had upward of an hundred ſhips of the line, and ſixty thouſand ſeamen[8]. The magnificent port of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was conſtructed at an immenſe expence; and that of Breſt, upon the ocean, was formed on as extenſive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with ſhips; and Rochefort, in ſpite of nature, was converted into a convenient harbour. Nor did Lewis, though engaged in no naval war, allow his ſhips to lie inactive in theſe ports. He ſent out ſqadrons, at different times, to clear the ſeas of the Barbary pirates: he ordered Algiers twice to be bombarded; and he had the pleaſure not only of humbling that haughty predatory city, and of obliging the Algerines to releaſe all their Chriſtian ſlaves, but of ſubjecting Tunis and Tripoli to the ſame conditions[9].

The republic of Genoa, for a ſlight offence, was no leſs ſeverely treated than Algiers. The Genoeſe

7. Dumont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. vii. 8. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiii. 9. Id. Ibid.

were accused of having sold bombs and gunpowder to the Algerines; and they had farther incurred the displeasure of Lewis, by engaging to build four gallies for the Spaniards. He commanded them, under pain of his resentment, not to launch those gallies. Incensed at this insult on their independency, the Genoese paid no regard to the menace. They seemed even desirous to shew their contempt of such arrogance; but they had soon occasion to repent their temerity. Fourteen ships of the line, twenty gallies, ten bomb-ketches, and several frigates, immediately sailed from Toulon, under old Duquesne; and appearing before Genoa, suddenly reduced to a heap of ruins part of those magnificent buildings, which have obtained for that city the appellation of PROUD. Four thousand men were landed, and the suburb of St. Peter d'Arena was burnt. It now became necessary for the Genoese to make submissions, in order to prevent the total destruction of their capital. Lewis demanded, that the Doge, and four of the principal senators, should come and implore his clemency in his palace at Versailles; and, in order to prevent the Genoese from eluding this satisfaction, or depriving him of any part of his triumph, he insisted that the Doge, who should be sent to deprecate his vengeance, should be continued in office, notwithstanding the perpetual law of the republic, by which a Doge is deprived of his dignity the moment he quits the city[10]. These humiliating conditions were complied with. Imperialé Lascaro, Doge of Genoa, in his ceremonial habit, accompanied by four of the principal senators, appeared before Lewis in a supplicating posture. The Doge, who was a man of wit and vivacity, on being asked by the French courtiers what he

LETTER XV.

A.D. 1684.

A.D. 1685.

10. Voltaire, ubi sup.

saw

PART II. A. D. 1685.

ſaw moſt extrordinary at Verſailles, very pointedly replied—"To ſee myſelf here!"

The grandeur of Lewis XIV. was now at its higheſt point of elevation; but the ſinews of his real power were already ſomewhat ſlackened, by the death of the great Colbert. That excellent miniſter, to whom France owes her moſt valuable manufactures, her commerce, and her navy, had enabled his maſter, by the order and œconomy with which he conducted the finances, to ſupport the moſt expenſive wars; to dazzle with his pomp all the nations of Europe; and to corrupt its principal courts, without diſtreſſing his people. He has, however, been accuſed of not ſufficiently encouraging agriculture, and of paying too much attention to the manufactures connected with luxury. But theſe which, for a time, made all her neighbours in a manner tributary to France, he was ſenſible only could ſupply the exceſſive drain of war, and the oſtentatious waſte of the king. He was not at liberty to follow his own judgment. The neceſſities of the ſtate obliged him to adopt a temporary policy; and to encourage the more ſumptuous manufactures at the expence of general induſtry, and conſequently of population.

But in the proſecution of this ſyſtem, which though radically defective, was the beſt that could be adopted in ſuch circumſtances, Colbert employed the wiſeſt meaſures. He not only eſtabliſhed the moſt ingenious, and leaſt known manufactures, ſuch as ſilks, velvets, laces, tapeſtries, carpets; but he eſtabliſhed them in the cheapeſt and moſt convenient places, and encouraged, without diſtinction, perſons of all nations and all religions. Above the reſt, the Hugonots,

nots, or French Proteſtants, ſeemed to claim his attention. Having long loſt their political conſequence, they devoted themſelves chiefly to manufactures. They every where recommended themſelves by their induſtry and ingenuity, which were often rewarded with great opulence. This opulence begot envy, envy produced jealouſy; and ſoon after the death of Colbert, who had always protected and patronized them, theſe uſeful and ingenious ſectaries, without the imputation of any crime, were expoſed to a cruel and impolitic perſecution, which reduced them to the neceſſity of abandoning their native country. LETTER XV. A.D. 1685.

THIS perſecution, whoſe progreſs was marked by the *revocation* of the famous Edict of Nantz, which ſecured to the French Proteſtants the free exerciſe of their religion, and was underſtood to be perpetual, throws peculiar diſgrace on the poliſhed court and enlightened reign of Lewis XIV. Even before the revocation of that edict, ſo blindly bigotted, or violent and ſhort-ſighted, were the French miniſters, that the Proteſtants were not only excluded from all civil employments, but rendered incapable of holding any ſhare in the principal ſilk manufactories, though they only could carry them on to advantage[11]!

ONE might think, from ſuch regulations, that thoſe miniſters had lived in the darkeſt ages, or were determined to ruin the ſtate. Nor were their ordinances, after repealing the Edict of Nantz, leſs impolitic or abſurd. They baniſhed all the Proteſtant paſtors, without once ſuſpecting the flock would follow them; and when that evil was perceived, it was in-

11. *Mem. de Noailles*, par l'Abbé Millot, tom. i.

PART II. A.D.1685. effectually decreed, that such as attempted to leave the kingdom should be sent to the gallies. Those who remained, were prohibited even the private exercise of their religion on pain of death; and, by a singular piece of barbarity, the children of Protestants were ordered to be taken from their parents, and committed to their nearest Catholic relations; or, in default of those, to such other good Catholics as the judges should appoint for their education. All the terrors of mili- A.D.1686. tary execution, and all the artifices of priestcraft, were employed to make converts; and such as relapsed, were sentenced to the most cruel punishments. A twentieth part of the whole body was put to death in a short time, and a price was set on the heads of the rest, who were hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains[12]. By these severities, in spite of the guards that were placed on the frontiers, and every other tyrannical restraint, France was deprived of near six hundred thousand of her most valuable inhabitants, who carried their wealth, their industry, and their skill in ingenious manufactures into England, Holland, and Germany; where Lewis XIV. found, in his own fugitive, and once faithful subjects, not only formidable rivals in commerce, but powerful enemies burning with revenge, and gallant soldiers ready to set bounds to his ambition.

But while Lewis thus persecuted the French Protestants, contrary to all the principles of humanity and sound policy, he was no dupe to the court of Rome. On the contrary, he did every thing in his power to mortify Innocent XI. a man of virtue and abilities, who now filled the papal chair. He carried ecclesiastical disputes with him as far as possible, with-

12. Id. ibid. See also Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxxii.

out

LETTER XV.

A.D. 1687.

out ſeparating the Gallican church entirely from the apoſtolic ſee. In civil affairs, the conteſt was ſtill warmer, and took its riſe from a ſingular abuſe. The ambaſſadors of popiſh princes at Rome extended what they called their *quarters*, or the right of freedom and aſylum, to a great diſtance from their houſes. This pernicious privilege rendered one half of Rome a certain refuge for all ſorts of criminals; and, by another privilege, as whatever entered Rome, under the ſanction of an ambaſſador's name, paid no duty, the trade of the city ſuffered, and the ſtate was defrauded of its revenue. In order to remedy theſe abuſes, Innocent prevailed on the emperor and the king of Spain to forego ſuch odious rights; and an application to the ſame purpoſe was made to the king of France, entreating him to concur with the other princes in promoting the tranquillity and good order of Rome. Lewis, who was already diſſatisfied with the pope, haughtily replied, that he had never made the conduct of others an example to himſelf; but, on the contrary, would make himſelf an example to others[13]! He accordingly ſent his ambaſſador to Rome ſurrounded with guards and other armed attendants, and Innocent was able to oppoſe him only with excommunications.

THIS triumph over the ſpiritual father of Chriſtendom, was the laſt inſult on the dignity of ſovereigns, which Lewis XIV. was ſuffered to commit with impunity. The emperor had taken Buda from the Turks, after an obſtinate ſiege: he had defeated them with great ſlaughter at Mohatz: he had entirely ſubdued the Hungarian malcontents: he had even got the crown of Hungary declared hereditary in the houſe of Auſtria, and his ſon Joſeph proclaimed king of that

13. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiii.

PART II. A.D. 1687.

country. Though ſtill engaged in hoſtilities with the Infidels, he had now leiſure to turn his eye towards France; nor could he do it with indifference. The ſame vain-glorious ambition which had prompted Lewis to tyrannize over the pope, and to perſecute his Proteſtant ſubjects, That, to uſe the language of his hiſtorians, as there was ONE king there might be but ONE religion in the monarchy, and which juſtly alarmed all Germany and the North, at length awakened the reſentment of Leopold.

A LEAGUE had been already concluded by the whole empire at Augſburg, in order to reſtrain the encroachments of France, and to vindicate the objects of the treaties of Weſtphalia, the Pyrenees, and Nimeguen. And an ambitious attempt of Lewis XIV. to get the cardinal de Furſtemberg, one of his own creatures, made elector of Cologne, in oppoſition to the emperor, at once ſhewed the neceſſity of ſuch an aſſociation, and lighted anew the flames of war in Germany and the Low Countries. Spain and Holland had become principals in the league; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy were afterward gained; ſo that the acceſſion of England ſeemed only wanting to render the confederacy complete, and that was at laſt acquired.—But, before I enter into particulars, we muſt take a view of the unhappy reign of James II. and the great change in the Engliſh conſtitution with which it was terminated.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S THE TANJORE SARASVATI MAHAL

LETTER XVI.

GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *during the Reign of* JAMES II.

CHARLES II. by his popular character and temporising policy, had fo generally reconciled the Englifh nation to his arbitrary adminiftration, that the obnoxious religion, and even the blind bigotry of his brother, may perhaps be confidered as fortunate circumftances for the Britifh conftitution. For had James II. been a Proteftant, he might quietly have eftablifhed defpotifm in England; or had he, as he formerly promifed, made his religion a private affair between God and his own confcience, he might ftill have been able to fubdue the fmall remains of liberty, and to eftablifh that abfolute government which he loved. But the juftice of thefe reflections will beft appear from the facts by which they were fuggefted.

LETTER XIV. A.D. 1685.

THE new king, who was fifty years of age when he afcended the throne, began his reign with a very popular act. He immediately affembled the privy council, and declared, That although he had been reprefented as a man of arbitrary principles, and though determined not to relinquifh the juft rights and prerogatives of the crown, he was refolved to maintain the eftablifhed government, both in church and ftate, being fenfible that the laws of England were fufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wifh[1]. This declaration gave great fatisfaction to the council, and was received with the warmeft ap-

1. Printed *Declaration.*

PART II. A.D. 1685. plause by the nation. As James had hitherto been considered as a prince of unimpeached honour and sincerity, no one doubted but his intentions were conformable to his professions. "We have now," it was commonly said, "the word of a king; and a word "never yet broken [2]!". It was represented as a greater security to the constitution than any laws could give. Addresses poured in from all quarters, full not only of expressions of duty, but of the most servile adulation [3].

But this popularity was of short continuance. The nation was soon convinced, that the king either was not sincere in his promise to preserve the constitution inviolate, or entertained ideas of that constitution very different from those of his people, and such as could yield no security to their civil or religious liberties. He went openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal worship: he was even so imprudent as to urge others to follow his example: he sent an agent to Rome, in order to make submissions to the pope; and he levied taxes without the authority of parliament [4].

James, however, soon found the necessity of assembling a parliament; and, in consequence of the

2. Burnet, book iv.

3. The address from the quakers was, however, distinguished by that plainness which has so long characterised the sect. "We are come," said they, "to testify our sorrow for the death of our good "friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We "are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, "any more than we; wherefore, we hope, thou wilt grant us the "same liberty which thou allowest thyself: which doing, we wish "thee all manner of happiness."

4. Burnet, book iv. Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii.

influence

influence which the crown had acquired in the boroughs, by the violation of the corporation-charters, a houfe of commons was procured as compliant as the moft arbitrary prince could have wifhed. If they had been otherwife difpofed, the king's fpeech was more calculated to work on their fears than their affections, to inflame oppofition than to conciliate favour, and ftrongly indicated the violence of his principles. After repeating his promife to govern according to the laws, and to preferve the eftablifhed religion, he told the commons, that he pofitively expected they would grant him, during his life, the fame revenue which his brother had enjoyed. "I might ufe many arguments," faid he, "to enforce this demand; the benefit of trade, the fupport of the navy, the neceffities "of the crown, and the well-being of the government "itfelf, which I muft not fuffer to be precarious: but "I am confident that your own confideration, and "your fenfe of what is juft and reafonable, will fuggeft to you whatever might on this occafion be enlarged upon. There is indeed one popular argument," added he, "which may be urged againft "compliance with my demands. Men may think, "that by *feeding me* from *time* to *time* with fuch fupplies *as they think convenient*, they will better fecure "*frequent meetings of parliament*: but as this is the firft "time I fpeak to you from the throne, I will anfwer "this argument once for all. I muft plainly tell "you, That fuch an expedient would be very improper to employ with ME; and that the beft way "to engage me to *meet* you *often*, is always to *ufe* me "*well*[5]."

5. *Journals*, May 19, 1685.

PART II. A.D. 1685.

In return to this imperious ſpeech, which a ſpirited parliament would have received with indignation, both houſes preſented an addreſs of thanks, without ſo much as a debate; and the commons unanimouſly voted, "That the revenue enjoyed by the late king, "at the time of his death, ſhall be ſettled on his pre-"ſent majeſty, during life." Nor did the genero-ſity of the commons ſtop here. The king having demanded a farther ſupply for removing the anticipations on the revenue, and other temporary purpoſes, they revived certain duties on wines and vinegar, which had been granted to the late king; but which, having expired during the bad humours of his latter parliaments, had not been renewed. To theſe were added ſome impoſitions on tobacco and ſugar; all which, under the rigid œconomy of James, rendered the crown, in time of peace, independent of the parliament[6].

The Scottiſh parliament went yet farther than that of England. Both lords and commons declared their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions derogatory to the king's *ſacred*, *ſupreme*, *ſovereign*, *abſolute* authority; of which none, they ſaid, whether ſingle perſons or collective bodies, can participate but in dependence on him and by commiſſion from him. They offered, in the name of the nation, to ſupport with their lives and fortunes their preſent ſovereign and his lawful heirs, in the poſſeſſion of the crown and its prerogatives, againſt all mortal men: and they annexed the whole exciſe, both of inland and foreign commodities, for ever to the crown[7].

6. James II. 1685. 7. Burnet, book iv. Hume, vol. viii.

THIS

LETTER XVI.
A.D. 1685.

THIS profuse liberality of the parliaments of the two kingdoms, and the general, and even abject submission of the two nations, gave the king reason to believe that his throne was as firmly established as that of any European monarch. But, while every thing remained in tranquillity at home, a storm was gathering abroad to disturb his repose; and which, although dissipated without much trouble, may be considered as a prelude to that great revolution which finally deprived him of his crown, and condemned himself and his posterity to a dependent and fugitive life among foreigners.

THE prince of Orange, ever since the proposed exclusion of his father-in law, had raised his hopes to the English throne He had entered deeply into intrigues with the ministers of Charles II. he had encouraged the parliamentary leaders in their violent opposition; and, unaccountable as it may seem, it appears that he secretly abetted the ambitious views of the duke of Monmouth, though they both aimed at the same object[8]. It is at least certain that he received the duke with great kindness, and treated him with the highest marks of respect, after he had been pardoned by a fond and indulgent father, for his unnatural share in the Rye-house plot, but ordered to leave the kingdom on a new symptom of disaffection; that on the accession of James II. and when the prince of Orange was professing the strongest attachment to his father-in-law, Monmouth, Argyle, and other English and Scottish fugitives in Holland, were suffered, under his secret protection, to provide themselves privately with necessaries, and to form the plan

8. See king James's *Mem.* in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. i. and Count D'Avaux's *Negociations*, tom. i. ii. iii. iv.

of

PART II. A.D. 1685.

of an invafion, in hopes of roufing to arms the diffatisfied part of the two kingdoms [9].

ARGYLE, who was firft ready, failed for Scotland with three veffels, carrying arms and ammunition; and, foon after his arrival in the Highlands, he found himfelf at the head of two thoufand men. But the king's authority was too firmly eftablifhed in Scotland to be fhaken by fuch a force. Early made fenfible of this, Argyle was afraid to venture into the low country; where, if he had been able to keep the field, he might have met with fupport from the Covenanters. At any rate, he ought to have hazarded the attempt, before the ardour of his adherents had leifure to cool, or his well-wifhers time to difcern his danger, inftead of waiting for an acceffion of ftrength among his mountains. But his fituation, it muft be owned, was at all times difcouraging. Government, apprifed of his intended invafion, had ordered all the confiderable gentry of his clan to be thrown into prifon. The whole militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thoufand men, were foon under arms; and a third part of them, with all the regular forces, were now on their march to oppofe him. The marquis of Athol preffed him on one fide; lord Charles Murray on the other; the duke of Gordon hung upon his rear; the earl of Dumbarton met him in front. His arms and ammunition were feized, his provifions cut of. In this defperate extremity, he endeavoured to force his way into the difaffected part of the weftern countries. He accordingly croffed the river Leven, and afterward the Clyde; but no perfon fhewed either courage or inclination to join him. His followers, who had fuffered all the hardfhips of

9. Id. ibid.

famine

famine and fatigue, gradually deserted; and he himself being made prisoner, was carried to Edinburgh, and immediately executed on a former iniquitous sentence [10]. Two English gentlemen excepted, his adherents, by dispersing themselves, escaped punishment.

LETTER XVI. A.D. 1685.

MEANWILE the duke of Monmouth, according to agreement, had landed in the West of England; and so great was his popularity, that although accompanied only by about fourscore persons, the number of his adherents soon increased to five thousand. At the head of these, who were chiefly of the lower class, he entered Taunton; where he was received with such extraordinary expressions of joy, that he issued a declaration asserting the legitimacy of his birth, and assumed the title of king. From Taunton he marched to Bridgewater, where he was received with equal affection, and proclaimed king by the magistrates, with all the formalities of their office. His followers hourly increased; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss great numbers who crowded to his standard. He only, perhaps, needed conduct and abilities to have overturned his uncle's throne. Conscious of his want of these, as well as of resources, the nobility and gentry kept at a distance. He had no man of talents or courage, to advise with in the closet, or to assist him in the field. Lord Gray, his general of horse, and whom he had the weakness to continue in command, was to his own knowledge a coward; and he himself, though personally brave, allowed the expectation of the people to languish, without attempting any bold enterprise [11].

10. Burnet. Wodrow. Hume. 11. Burnet. Kennet. Ralph.

PART II. A.D. 1685.

NOTWITSTANDING this imprudent caution, and the news of Argyle's miscarriage, Monmouth's followers continued to adhere to him, after all his hopes of success had failed, and when he had even thoughts of providing for his own safety by flight. Roused to action by such warm attachment, and encouraged by the prospect of seizing an unexpected advantage, he attacked the king's forces, under the earl of Feversham, at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; and had it not been for his own misconduct, and the cowardice of lord Gray, he might have gained a decisive victory. Though Gray and the cavalry fled in the beginning of the action, the undisciplined infantry gallantly maintained the combat for three hours; and the duke himself, besides his errors in generalship, quitted the field too early for an adventurer contending for a crown [12]. About fourteen hundred of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, and nearly an equal number made prisoners.

July 5.

MONMOUTH himself, with a single attendant, escaped to a considerable distance from the scene of action; but his horse at length failing him, he was reduced to the necessity of travelling on foot, and changed cloaths with a peasant, in order to conceal himself from his pursuers. In that humble disguise, he was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, covered with weeds. He had in his pocket some green peas, which had been his only food for several days; and his spirts being exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he burst into tears, and behaved otherwise in a manner unworthy of his character. Even on his arrival in London, allured by the fond hope of life, he was induced to make the meanest submissions, in order to pro-

12. Burnet, book iv.

cure

cure a pardon [13]; though he might have been fenfible, from the greatnefs of his own offences, and the king's unfeeling difpofition, that he could expect no mercy. After that hope failed him, he behaved with becoming dignity; and difcovered great firmnefs and compofure at his execution, though accompanied with many horrid circumftances [14].

Had James ufed his victory with moderation, this fortunate fuppreffion of a rebellion in the beginning of his reign would have tended much to ftrengthen his authority; but the cruelty with which it was profecuted, and the delufive profpects which it opened to his zeal for popery and unlimited power, proved the chief caufe of his ruin. Such arbitrary principles had the court infufed into its fervants, that the earl of Feverfham, immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor, and while the foldiers were yet fatigued with flaughter, ordered above twenty of the infurgents to be hanged, without any form of trial. But this inftance of illegal feverity was forgotten in the fuperior inhumanity of colonel Kirk, whofe military executions were attended with circumftances of wanton cruelty and barbarity. On his firft entry into Bridgewater, he not only hanged nineteen prifoners without the leaft inquiry into the nature of their guilt, but ordered a certain number to be executed while he and his company fhould drink the king's health; and obferving their feet to quiver, in the agonies

13. Id ibid. See alfo James II. 1685.

14. Touched with pity, or unmanned by terror, at the noble prefence of Monmouth, and the part he was to perform, the executioner ftruck him three times, without effect; and then threw afide the axe, declaring that he was unable to finifh the bloody office. The fheriff obliged him to renew the attempt, and the duke's head was at laft fevered from his body.

PART II. A.D. 1685.

agonies of death, he commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to ſound, ſaying he would give them muſic to their dancing [15]!

EVEN the inhumanities of Kirk were exceeded by the violence of lord chief juſtice Jefferys; who ſhewed the aſtoniſhed nation, that the rigours of law may equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. A ſpecial commiſſion being iſſued to this man, whoſe diſpoſition was brutal and arbitrary, and who had already given ſeveral ſpecimens of his character, he ſet out, accompanied by four other judges, with a ſavage joy, as to a full harveſt of death. He opened his commiſſion firſt at Wincheſter, whence he proceeded to Dorceſter, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, carrying every where along with him terror and conſternation. The juries, ſtruck with his menaces, gave their verdict with hurry and precipation; ſo that many innocent perſons are ſuppoſed to have ſuffered. About five hundred priſoners were tried and condemned, in all: of theſe two hundred and fifty were executed: the reſt were tranſported, condemned to cruel whippings, or

15. Burnet. Kennet. Ralph —One ſtory, commonly told of Kirk, is memorable in the hiſtory of human treachery and barbarity. A beautiful young maiden, bathed in tears, threw herſelf at his feet, and pleaded for the life of her brother. The brutal tyrant, inflamed with deſire, but not ſoftened into pity, promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided ſhe would yield to his wiſhes. She reluctantly complied with the cruel requeſt, without reflecting that the wretch who could make it was unworthy of credit or confidence. But ſhe had ſoon reaſon to know it.! After paſſing the night with him, the wanton and perfidious ſavage ſhewed her in the morning, from the bed-room window, that beloved brother, for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her innocence, hanging on a gibbet, which he had ſecretly ordered to be erected for the purpoſe! Rage, indignation, and deſpair took at once poſſeſſion of her ſoul, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes.

per-

permitted, as is said, to purchase their pardon of the tyrannical and prostituted chief-justice[16]. LETTER XVI. A.D. 1685.

As if desirous to take upon himself the odium of these severe executions, the king rewarded the inhumanity of Jefferys with a peerage and the office of chancellor: and he took care, on the meeting of parliament, more fully to open the eyes of the nation, and to realize all those apprehensions which had excited the violence of the Exclusionists. He plainly told the two houses, That the militia, in which the nation trusted, having been found, during the late rebellion, altogether insufficient for the safety of government, he had increased the regular forces to double their former number; and he demanded a fresh supply for the support of this additional force. He also took notice, That he had *dispensed* with the Test Act, in favour of some Roman Catholic officers; and, in order to cut short all opposition, he declared, That having employed them to advantage in the time of need and danger, he was determined neither to expose them afterward to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their service[17]. Nov. 9.

Had James used his dispensing power without declaring it, no opposition would probably have been made to this dangerous exercise of prerogative by the present obsequious parliament. But to invade at once the civil constitution, to threaten the established religion, to maintain a standing army, and to require the concurrence of the two houses to all these measures, exceeded the bounds of their patience. The com-

16. Ibid. What rendered these severities less excusable was, That most of the prisoners were persons of low condition, who could never have disturbed the tranquillity of Government. Burnet, book iv.

17. *Journals*, Nov. 9, 1685.

LETTER XVI. A.D. 1685.

mons took into confideration his majefty's fpeech; they proceeded to examine the difpenfing power of the crown; and they voted an addrefs to the king againft it. The lords appointed a day for taking the fpeech into confideration; and James, afraid that they alfo would make an application againft his difpenfing power, immediately proceeded to a prorogation: fo imperious was his temper, fo lofty the idea which he had entertained of his own authority, and fo violent the meafures fuggefted by his own bigotry and that of his priefts [18]! By four more prorogations, he continued the parliament during a year and a half; but having in vain tried, by feparate applications, to break the firmnefs of the leading members, he at laft diffolved that affembly; and as it was evidently impoffible for him to find among his Proteftant fubjects a fet of men more devoted to royal authority, it was univerfally concluded, that he intended thenceforth to govern wholly without a parliament.

The king's difappointment in England did not divert him from purfuing the fame defign in Scotland: and the implicit fubmiffion exhibited by the Scottifh parliament at its firft meeting flattered him with the moft pleafing hopes of fuccefs. But experience foon convinced him, that thofe men who had refigned their political freedom, with fo much feeming indifference, were not to be perfuaded to endanger the Proteftant faith. Though he demanded, in the moft foothing expreffions, fome indulgence for the Roman Catholics, and fupported this requeft with propofals of advantage to the Scottifh nation, the parliament fhewed no inclination to repeal any of the Penal Laws. It

18. Hume, vol. viii.

was

was therefore prorogued by the commiſſioner, and ſoon after diſſolved by the king [19]. LETTER XVI. A.D. 1686.

Resolute, however, in his purpoſe, this miſguided monarch, in contempt of the general voice of the legiſlative body of the two kingdoms, determined to ſupport his prerogative of diſpenſing with the penal ſtatutes againſt ſectaries, by the authority of Weſtminſter-hall. With that view, four judges were diſplaced, and men of more compliant tempers ſubſtituted in their room. A caſe in point was produced; and ſir Edward Herbert, lord chief-juſtice of the King's Bench, upon the iſſue declared, That there was *nothing* whatever with which the *King*, as *ſupreme Lawgiver*, might not *diſpenſe*. This deciſion was confirmed by eleven out of the twelve judges. But the arguments of lawyers, founded upon ancient precedents, had no influence upon the ſentiments of the nation. Men in general could not diſtinguiſh between a diſpenſing and a repealing power in the crown; and they juſtly deemed it unreaſonable, that leſs authority ſhould be neceſſary to repeal than to enact any ſtatute. If one penal law was diſpenſed with, any other might undergo the ſame fate; and by what principle could even the laws that define property, be afterward ſecured from violation?—The Teſt Act had ever been conſidered as the great barrier of the national religion under a Popiſh ſucceſſor. As ſuch it had been inſiſted on by the parliament, as ſuch granted by the late king; and as ſuch, during the debates concerning the Excluſion Bill, it had been recommended by the lord-chancellor. By what magic then, it was aſked, by what chicane of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity [20]?

19. Burnet. Wodrow. 20. Sir Robert Atkins. Burnet. Hume.

PART II.
A.D. 1686.

Fortified, however, with the opinion of the judges in favour of his dispenfing power, James thought himfelf now authorifed to countenance more openly his religious friends. The earl of Powis, with the lords Arundel, Bellafis, and Dover, all zealous Catholics, and who had long managed in private the affairs of the nation, in conjunction with Sunderland, were publicly received at the council-board. Bellafis foon after, was placed at the head of the treafury, and Arundel fucceeded Halifax in the office of privy-feal. The king's apoftolical enthufiafm, in a word, which feemed to have divefted him of common prudence, made him fo defirous of making profelytes, that all men plainly faw the only way to acquire his favour and confidence was to embrace the Catholic faith. Sunderland affected fuch a change; and, in Scotland, the earls of Murray, Perth, and Melford, were brought over to the religion of the court [21].

These were bold advances; but it was yet only in Ireland, where the majority of the people were already attached to the Romifh communion, that the king thought himfelf at liberty wholly to pull off the mafk, and proceed to the full extent of his zeal and violence. Immediately after the acceffion of James, the duke of Ormond had been recalled from the government of that kingdom; and, on the fuppreffion of Monmouth's rebellion, orders were fent to the lord's-juftices, under colour of preventing a like infurrection, to recal the arms of the Irifh militia, who were all Proteftants, and to depofit them in different magazines. Nor did the vigilance of government ftop here. Talbot, a violent papift, having been created earl of Tyrconnel, and appointed lieu-

21. Burnet, book iv. James II. 1686.

tenant-

tenant-general of the king's forces in Ireland, dismissed near three hundred Protestant officers, and a great number of private men, under pretence of new-modelling the army. The earl of Clarendon went over as lord-lieutenant; but as he had refused to oblige the king, by changing his religion, he soon found that he possessed no credit or authority. He was even a kind of prisoner in the hands of the general; and as he gave all the opposition in his power to the violent measures of the Catholics, he was soon recalled, and Tyrconnel substituted in his place [22]. The unhappy Protestants now saw all the civil authority, as well as the military force, transferred into the hands of their inveterate enemies, and dreaded a renewal of the recent massacres. Great numbers, filled with such apprehensions, left their habitations, and came over to England; where the horror against popery was already roused to the highest pitch, by the frightful tales of the French refugees, who, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, had fled from the persecutions of Lewis XIV. A. D. 1686.

All the more moderate Catholics were sensible that these extravagant measures would ruin the cause they were meant to serve. But the king was so entirely governed by the violent counsels of his queen, an Italian and popish princess, and by those of father Petre his confessor, that the boldness of any measure seems to have been with him a sufficient reason for adopting it. He now not only re-established the Court of High-commission, which had been abolished, as we have seen, by act of parliament, in the reign of his father, Charles I. but issued a Declaration of general Indulgence, or liberty of conscience, "by his sove- A. D. 1687.

22. Clarendon's *Letters*. Kennet vol. iii.

PART II. A.D. 1687.

" reign authority, and *abſolute* power," to his ſubjects of all religions [23]. Such an indulgence, though illegal, might have been conſidered as liberal, if the king's private purpoſe, the more ready introduction of popery, had not been generally known. Yet ſo great was the ſatisfaction ariſing from preſent eaſe, and ſo violent the animoſity of the Proteſtant ſectaries againſt the eſtabliſhed church, that they every where received the royal proclamation with expreſſions of joy and exultation [24].

If the diſſenters were ever deceived in regard to James's views, he took care ſoon to open their eyes, and to diſplay his bigotry and imprudence to all Europe. He publicly diſpatched the earl of Caſtlemain ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to expreſs his obeiſance to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms, in form, to the Holy See; and although Innocent XI. very juſtly concluded, that a ſcheme conducted with ſo much indiſcretion could not poſſibly be ſucceſsful, he ſent a nuncio to England, in return for the embaſſy. All communication with the pope had been made treaſon by act of parliament: but ſo little regard did James pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public audience at Windſor; and the duke of Somerſet being then in waiting, as one of the lords of the bed-chamber, was deprived of all his employments, becauſe he refuſed to aſſiſt at the illegal ceremony [25]. The nuncio afterward reſided openly in London. Four Catholic biſhops were publicly conſecrated at the king's chapel, and ſent out under the title of *vicars apoſtolical* to exerciſe the epiſcopal function in their reſpective dioceſes. The Je-

23. Burnet, book iv. 24. Id. ibid. 25. Kennet. Ralph. Hume.

ſuits

ſuits were permitted to erect a chapel and form a college in the Savoy; the Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the Carmelites formed a ſeminary in the city; fourteen monks were even ſettled at St. James's; in different parts of the country, places of public worſhip were erected by the papiſts: and the religious of the Romiſh communion appeared at court in the habits of their reſpective orders [26].

NOTHING now remained for James, who had already transferred almoſt every great office, civil and military, in the three kingdoms, from the Proteſtants, to their ſpiritual enemies, but to throw open the doors of the church and univerſities to the Catholics: and this attempt was ſoon made. The king ſent a letter to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, commanding the univerſity to admit one Francis, a monk of the order of St. Benedict, to the degree of maſter of arts, without exacting the uſual oaths. The univerſity refuſed; and the king, after ſuſpending the vice-chancellor, deſiſted from any farther attack upon that ſeminary [27]. But the compliant temper of the univerſity of Oxford, which had, in a formal decree, made profeſſion of *paſſive obedience*, gave James hopes of better ſucceſs there, though he carried ſtill higher his pretenſions.

THE preſidentſhip of Magdalen college, one of the richeſt foundations in Europe, having become vacant, a day was appointed for a new election; and one Farmer, a recent convert to popery, was recommended by a royal mandate, accompanied with a *diſpenſation* from the *uſual oaths*. The fellows of the college entreated the king to recall his mandate, or recommend ſome perſon of a leſs exceptional character than

26. James II. 1686 and 1687. 27. Kennet. Ralph.

PART II. A.D. 1687.

Farmer; but the day of election arriving before they received any answer, they chose as their president Dr. Hough, a man of learning, virtue, and spirit, who braved the threatening danger.

A CITATION was issued for the members of the college to appear before the Court of High Commission, in order to answer for their disobedience. The matter came to a regular hearing; and such articles of folly and vice were proved against Farmer, as justified the fellows in rejecting him, without having recourse to the legal disqualifications under which he laboured. The commissioners, however, proceeded to the deprivation of Dr. Hough, and a new mandate was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford; a man of dissolute morals, but who, like Farmer, had atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the Romish religion. The college replied, that no new election could be made till the former should be *legally* annulled. A new ecclesiastical commission was issued for that purpose; and the commissioners, attended by three troops of horse, repaired to Oxford; expelled the refractory president and all the fellows, except two, who had uniformly adhered to the king's mandate, and installed Parker in the presidentship of Magdalen college [28].

OF all the acts of violence committed during the tyrannical reign of James II. this may perhaps be considered as the most illegal and arbitrary. It accordingly occasioned universal discontent, and gave a general alarm to the clergy. The church, the chief pillar of the throne, and which, during the two last reigns, had supported it with such unshaken firmness; the church, which had carried the prerogative so high,

28. Burnet, book iv. MS. Account by Dr. Smith, ap. Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* vol. i. Hume, vol. viii.

and

and which, if protected in her rights, would have carried it ftill higher; the church now feeing thofe rights invaded, and her very fountains in danger of being poifoned, took refuge in the generous principles of liberty, and refolved to preferve that conftitution which her complacency had almoft ruined. LETTER XVI. A.D. 1687.

THE king, however, was determined to adhere to his arbitrary meafures; and as a balance to this reverend body, whofe oppofition he had wantonly roufed, he endeavoured to gain the Proteftant diffenters, and to form an unnatural coalition between them and the Roman Catholics. With that view, he took occafion frequently to extol the benefits of toleration, and to exclaim againft the feverities of the church of England. He commanded an inquiry to be made into all the oppreffive profecutions which the diffenters had fuffered, as a prelude to yielding them fecurity or redrefs; and by means of that afcendency which the crown had acquired over the corporations, he every where thruft them into the magiftracy, under various pretences, in hopes of being able to procure a parliament that would give its fanction to the repeal of the Teft Act and the penal laws againft nonconformity [29]. He affected to place them on the fame footing with the Catholics; and, in order to widen the breach between them and the church, whofe favour he defpaired of recovering, but whofe loyalty he never fufpected, he iffued anew his Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered it to be read in the pulpit by all the eftablifhed clergy [30]. A.D. 1688.

THIS order was confidered, by the whole ecclefiaftical body, as an infult on the hierarchy, and an

29. Burnet, book iv. 30. Id. ibid. See alfo Kennet. Ralph. Echard.

PART II. A.D. 1688.

insidious attempt to drag them to disgrace; for as the penal laws against non-conformists had, in a great measure, been procured by the church, the clergy were sensible, that any countenance which they might give to the dispensing power would be regarded as a deserting of their fundamental principles. They determined, therefore, almost universally, rather to hazard the vengeance of the crown, by disobedience, than to fulfil a command they could not approve, and expose themselves, at the same time, to the certain hatred and contempt of the people.

CONFORMABLE to this reso tion, and with a view to encourage every one to persevere in it, six bishops, namely, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol, met privately with Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, in his palace at Lambeth, and concerted the form of a petition to the king; beseeching him not to insist upon their reading the declaration of indulgence, as being founded on a prerogative repeatedly declared illegal by parliament[31]. Enraged at this unexpected opposition to his favourite measure, James not only refused their request, but ordered them to be committed to the Tower, on their refusing to give bail for their appearance before the court of King's Bench, to answer for what was denominated an *high misdemeanor*, and afterward prosecuted as a LIBEL.

JAMES was not insensible of the danger of pursuing this tyrannical prosecution, though his pride would not allow him to desist. But the circumstances

31. See the petition itself, ap. Hume, vol. viii. p. 266.

attending

attending the commitment of the biſhops ought ſtill farther to have opened his eyes, and made him perceive the dreadful precipice upon which he was ruſhing. Though they were carried by water to the Tower, multitudes of anxious ſpectators crowded the banks of the river, and at once implored the bleſſing of thoſe venerable prelates, and offered their petitions to Heaven for the ſafety of the perſecuted guardians of their religion. Even the ſoldiers, ſeized with the contagion of the ſame ſpirit, are ſaid to have flung themſelves on their knees, and craved the benediction of the holy priſoners, whom they were appointed to guard[32].

LETTER XVI. A.D. 1688.

A LIKE ſcene was exhibited, when the biſhops were conducted to trial. Perſons of all conditions were affected with the awful criſis to which affairs were reduced, and conſidered the deciſion of the cauſe depending as of the laſt importance to both king and people. Twenty-nine temporal peers attended the priſoners to Weſtminſter-hall; and ſuch crowds of gentry joined in the proceſſion, that little room was left for the populace to enter. The trial, which laſted near ten hours, was managed with ability by the counſel on both ſides, and liſtened to with the moſt eager attention. Though the judges held their ſeats only during pleaſure, two of them had the courage to declare againſt a diſpenſing power in the crown, as inconſiſtent with all law: and if the diſpenſing power was not legal, it followed of courſe, that the biſhops could not be criminal in refuſing obedience to an illegal command. The jury at length withdrew; and when they brought in their verdict, "Not Guilty!" the populace, who filled Wnſtminſter-hall and all Pa-

33. Burnet. Ralph. Hume.

lace-

PART II. A.D. 1688.

lace-yard, ſhouted thrice with ſuch vehemence, that the ſound reached the city [33]. The loudeſt acclamations were immediately echoed from ſtreet to ſtreet, bonfires were lighted, and every other demonſtration given of public joy [34]. Nor were the rejoicings on account of this legal victory confined to the capital: they rapidly ſpread over the whole kingdom, and found their way even into the camp [35]; where the triumph of the church was announced to the king in the ſhouts of his mercenary army [36].

If James had made uſe of that naturally ſound, though narrow underſtanding, with which he was endowed, he would now have perceived, that the time was come for him to retract, unleſs he meant ſeriouſly to ſacrifice his crown to his religious prejudices. But ſo blinded was he by bigotry, and ſo obſtinate in his arbitrary meaſures, that although he knew they were execrated by all orders of men in the ſtate, a handful of

33. Price to Beaufort, June 30, 1668, MS. ap. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* vol. i. 34. Burnet, book iv. 35. Id. ibid.

36. In order to convince the people, that he was determined to ſupport his authority by force of arms, if neceſſary, and to over-awe them by a diſplay of his power, the king had, for two ſummers paſt, encamped his army, to the number of fifteen thouſand men, on Hounſlow-heath. He ſpent much of his time in training and diſciplining theſe troops; and a popiſh chapel was openly erected in the midſt of the camp, with a view of bringing over the ſoldiers to that communion. But the few converts that the prieſts made, were treated with ſuch contempt and ignominy by their companions, as deterred others from following the example. The king had reviewed his army on the ſame morning that the jury gave in their verdict in favour of the proſecuted prelates; and having afterward retired into the tent of lord Feverſham, the general, he was ſuddenly alarmed with a great uproar in the camp, attended with the moſt extravagant expreſſions of tumultuous joy. He anxiouſly enquired the cauſe, and was told by Feverſham, "it was nothing but the rejoicing of the "ſoldiers for the acquittal of the biſhops."—"And do you call that "nothing?" exclaimed James, ready to burſt with rage and indignation. Hume, vol. viii.

Roman Catholics excepted, yet was he, by a ſingular infatuation, incapable of ſo much as remitting his violence in the purſuit of them!—He immediately diſplaced the two judges, who had given their opinion in favour of the biſhops, and ſupplied their ſeats with men of more accommodating principles. He iſſued orders to the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners to proſecute all the clergy who had not read his Declaration of Indulgence; that is, the whole body of the church of England, unleſs about two hundred, and even theſe obeyed his command but imperfectly. He ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen College, after expelling the former, to elect for preſident in the room of Parker, lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne; and he is ſaid to have nominated the ſame perſon to the ſee of Oxford[37]!

Such violent and repeated infringements of the conſtitution could not fail to alarm the whole nation. The moſt moderate minded men could aſcribe the king's meaſures to nothing leſs than a ſettled ſyſtem to introduce his own religion and an unlimited power in the crown; and the only conſolation to all men was the advanced age of the king, and the proſpect of a proteſtant ſucceſſor, who would replace every thing on ancient foundations. This conſideration, together with the great naval and military force of James, kept the more ardent ſpirits from having immediate recourſe to arms; and the prince of Orange, who ſtill maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh malcontents, and was ready on any emergency to obey the call of the nation, ſeemed to have laid aſide all thoughts of an open rupture, and to wait patiently

37. Burnet. Ralph. Hume.

LETTER XVI.

A.D. 1688.

for an event that could not be very diſtant,—the death of the king.

But theſe hopes, both at home and abroad, were ſuddenly blaſted, by the unexpected birth of a prince of Wales. From a ſon, educated by ſuch a father, nothing could be expected but a continuance of the ſame unconſtitutional meaſures. People of all ranks took the alarm, as if a regular plan had been formed for entailing popery and arbitrrary power on them and their deſcendants to the lateſt poſterity. Calumny went even ſo far, though the queen's delivery was as public as the laws of decency would permit, as to aſcribe to the king the deſign of impoſing upon the nation a ſuppoſititious child, who might ſupport, after the death of James, the catholic religion in his dominions. And the prince of Orange did not fail to propagate the improbable tale; which, in the preſent ſtate of men's minds, was greedily received by the populace both in England and Holland.

Under theſe apprehenſions, many of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, and ſome of the principal clergy, invited the prince to come over and aſſiſt them with his arms, in the recovery of their conſtitutional rights. In this invitation men of all parties, civil and eccleſiaſtical, concurred. The Whigs, conformable to thoſe patriotic principles which had led them to urge with ſo much violence the Excluſion Bill, were zealous to expel from the throne a prince, whoſe conduct had fully juſtified all that their fears had predicted of his ſucceſſion: the Tories, enraged at the preference ſhewn to the Catholics, and the chur h inflamed by recent injuries, reſolved to pull down the idol that their own hands had made, and which

which they had blindly worſhipped. Their eyes being now opened, they ſaw the neceſſity of reſtoring and ſecuring the conſtitution. And the proteſtant nonconformiſts, whom the king had gained by his indulgence, judged it more prudent to look forward for a general toleration, to be eſtabliſhed by law, than to rely any longer on the inſidious careſſes of their theological adverſaries.—Thus, my dear Philip, by a wonderful coalition, was faction for a time ſilenced; all parties ſacrificing, on this occaſion, their former animoſities, to the apprehenſion of a common danger, or to the ſenſe of a common intereſt[38]. The Revolution, even in its beginning, was a national work; and patriotiſm, under the guidance of political wiſdom, ſuggeſted the glorious plan.

NOT ſatisfied with a formal invitation, ſeveral Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen went over to Holland, and in perſon encouraged the prince of Orange to attempt their deliverance from popery and arbitrary power. The requeſt was too flattering to be ſlighted. William, from the moment of his marriage with the lady Mary, had always kept his eye on the crown of England; though he had a complicated ſcheme of policy to conduct, and many interfering intereſts to reconcile on the continent. Happily all theſe intereſts conſpired to promote his propoſed enterprize. The league of Augſburg, formed to break the power of France, could not accompliſh its object without the acceſſion of England. The houſe of Auſtria, therefore, in both its branches, and even Innocent XI. who then filled the papal chair, preferring their political views to their zeal for the catholic faith, counte-

38. For a more full account of this coalition, ſee Bolingbroke's *Diſſertation on Parties*, Let. vii. and Hume, vol. viii.

nanced

PART II. A.D. 1688.

nanced the projected expulsion of James, who had refused to take part in the league, as the only means of humbling Lewis XIV. their common enemy. All the German princes were in the same interest; and the prince of Orange held conferences, not only with Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, but with the electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony, with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and with the whole house of Lunenburg. It was agreed that these princes should protect the United Provinces during the absence of William [39].

OTHER circumstances contributed to facilitate the designs of the prince of Orange. The elector of Cologne, who was also bishop of Liege and Munster, and whose territories almost surrounded the United Provinces, having died about this time, a violent contest arose for that rich succession. The candidates were prince Clement of Bavaria, supported by the house of Austria, and the cardinal de Furstemberg, a prelate dependent on France. The former at length prevailed, through the partiality of the pope; but as Lewis threatened to recover by force what he had lost by intrigue, the prince of Orange formed a camp, between Grave and Nimeguen, of twenty thousand men, under pretence of guarding against danger on that side. Under other pretences, he forwarded his preparations by sea; and had equipped for service twenty ships of the line, without having recourse to the States [40]. But the States, though not formally admitted into the secret councels of William, could not be ignorant of his real views; and the body of the people, being highly irritated against France, exhi-

August.

39. Burnet, book iv. D'Avaux, tom. iv. 40. Id. ibid.

bited

bited the utmoſt eagerneſs for every preparation for war. The commerce of the Dutch with that kingdom had lately been diminiſhed one fourth, by unuſual reſtrictions: their religious rage was kindled by the cruelties inflicted on the Proteſtants by Lewis, in conſequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz: the terrors raiſed by the bigotry of James in England had alſo ſpread to Holland; and the enthuſiaſtic zeal of theſe two potent monarchs for the catholic faith was repreſented, in both countries, as the certain ruin of the Proteſtant cauſe, unleſs reſtrained by the moſt vigorous exertions—by the united efforts of all the members of the reformed communion [41].

While one half of Europe thus combined againſt the king of England, while many of his own ſubjects were determined to oppoſe his power, and more to diveſt him of his authority, James, as if blinded by deſtiny, repoſed himſelf in the moſt ſupine ſecurity, and diſregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations conveyed to his ears. In vain did Lewis XIV. who had early received certain information of the deſigns of the prince of Orange, attempt to rouſe the infatuated monarch to a ſenſe of his danger: in vain did he offer his aid. Deceived by his ambaſſador in Holland, and betrayed by his miniſter, the earl of Sunderland, James had the weakneſs to believe, that the rumour of an invaſion was only raiſed by his enemies, in order to frighten him into a cloſer connexion with France, and to complete, by that means, the defection of his ſubjects [42]. Nor was this jealouſy, though carried to an imprudent height, utterly without foundation; for when Lewis took the liberty to remonſtrate with

41. Burnet, D'Avaux, ubi ſup. 42. D'Avaux, tom. iv. James II. 1688.

the

PART II. A.D. 1688 the States, by his ambaſſador D'Avaux, againſt their preparations to invade England, not only the Dutch but the Engliſh took the alarm. Their apprehenſions of a league between the two monarchs, for the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion, ſeemed now to be confirmed, and the wildeſt ſtories were propagated to that purpoſe[43].

HAD the defection occaſioned by theſe fears been confined to the Engliſh populace, or merely to men in a civil capacity, James might ſtill have bid defiance to the deſigns of his ſon-in-law. But, unhappily for that miſguided monarch, both the fleet and army were infected with the ſame ſpirit of diſloyalty. Of this he had received ſome mortifying proofs, when certain advice was brought him, from his miniſter in Holland, that he muſt ſoon expect a formidable invaſion, as the States had at laſt acknowledged, that the purpoſe of all their naval preparations was to tranſport forces into England. Sept. 23.

THOUGH James could reaſonably expect no other intelligence, he was much affected with the news: he grew pale, and the letter dropt from his hand[44]. His delirium of power vaniſhed; and he found himſelf on the brink of a frightful precipice, which had hitherto been concealed from his view by the illuſions of ſuperſtition. He now ſaw the neceſſity of providing for his ſafety, as well as of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of his people. He immediately ordered his fleet to be aſſembled, and his army to be recruited with new levies. He ſent for troops from Scotland and Ireland; and to his no ſmall ſatiſ-

43. Id. ibid. See alſo Hume, vol. viii. 44. Hume, vol. viii.

faction,

faction, found his land-forces amount to forty thousand men[45]. LETTER XVI. A.D. 1688.

Nor was the king less liberal of his civil concessions than vigorous in his military preparations. He had already issued writs for the meeting of parliament on the 27th of the ensuing November. He followed these with a declaration, That it was his fixed purpose to endeavour to establish a LEGAL settlement of an universal liberty of conscience for all his subjects; that he had resolved to preserve inviolate the church of England: and he protested, that it was his intention Roman catholics should remain incapable of sitting in the house of commons. He gave orders to the lord-chancellor, and the lord-lieutenants of the several counties, to replace all the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the Test and the penal laws against non-conformists: he restored the charter of London, and the charters of all the corporations in the kingdom: he annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission: he reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen college; and he invited again to his councils all the bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted, assuring them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the security of the protestant religion and the civil rights of his subjects[46].

But these concessions, though important in themselves, were made too late to be allowed much merit; and being generally supposed to be extorted by fear, they were coldly received by the nation. Nor was the conduct of the king, in other respects, answerable

45. James II. 1688. 46. *Gazettes*, passim.

PART II. A.D. 1688. to ſuch conciliating meaſures. He recalled the writs for the meeting of parliament, without iſſuing any new ones; a ſtep which created univerſal ſuſpicion of his ſincerity, and begot a belief that all his conceſſions were no more than temporary expedients. He ſhewed, however, a laudable zeal for his own honour, in obtaining a legal proof of the birth of the prince of Wales; but by an imprudence approaching to inſa-
Oct. 15. nity, the heir of the crown was baptized in the Romiſh communion, and the pope, repreſented by his nuncio, ſtood godfather to the boy [47].

MEANWHILE the prince of Orange continued his preparations. A powerful fleet was ready to put to ſea: the troops fell down the Maeſe from Nimeguen: the tranſports, which had been hired at different ports, were ſpeedily aſſembled: the artillery, arms, ammunition, proviſions, horſes, and men were embarked; and William, after taking formal leave of the States, and calling God to witneſs, that he had not the leaſt intention to invade, ſubdue, or make himſelf maſter of the kingdom of England! went himſelf on board [48]. His whole armament, which ſailed from the Brille and Helvoetſluys, on the 19th of October, conſiſted of fifty ſtout ſhips of war, twenty-five frigates, and an equal number of fire-ſhips; with five hundred tranſports, carrying about fifteen thouſand land-forces, including five hundred and fifty-ſix officers. Admiral Herbert, who had left the ſervice of James, led the van; the Zeland ſquadron, under vice-admiral Evertzen, brought up the rear; and the prince of Orange, in perſon, commanded in the centre, carrying a flag with Engliſh colours, and his own arms ſurrounded with theſe popular words:—"The PROTESTANT RELI-

47. Burnet, book iv. James II. 1688. 48. Neuville, tom. i.

"GION

"GION and the LIBERTIES of ENGLAND." Under this inscription was placed the appofite motto of the houfe of Naffau:--*Je maintiendrai*; "I will maintain[49]!" LETTER XVI. A.D. 1688.

THIS great embarkation, the moft important which had, for fome ages, been undertaken in Europe, was fcarce completed, when a dreadful tempeft arofe at fouth-weft, and drove the Dutch fleet to the northward. The ftorm raged for twelve hours, and the prince was obliged to return to Helvoetfluys. But he foon repaired his damages, and again put to fea. An eaft wind carried him down the Channel; where he was feen from both fhores, between Dover and Calais, by vaft multitudes of anxious fpectators, who felt alternately the extremes of hope and fear, mingled with admiration, at fuch a magnificent fpectacle. After a profperous voyage, he landed his army in Torbay, without the fmalleft oppofition either by fea or land[50]. Nov. 3.

THE fame wind, which favoured the enterprize of the prince of Orange, confined the Englifh fleet to its own coaft. Lord Dartmouth, who was inviolably attached to James, lay near Harwich with thirty-eight fhips of the line, and twenty-three frigates; a force fufficient to have difconcerted the defigns of William, if it could poffibly have put to fea: fo that the fuccefs of the glorious Revolution may be faid to have depended upon the winds! The deftruction of the Dutch fleet, even after the landing of the prince, would have difcouraged his adherents, and proved fatal to his undertaking. Senfible of this, Dartmouth came before Torbay, with a fixed refolution to attack the Hollanders, as they lay at anchor. But his fleet was difperfed by a violent ftorm, and forced to return to Spithead, in fuch a fhattered condition as to be no more fit for fervice that feafon[51]. Little wonder if, after

49. Burnet, book iv. D'Avaux, tom. iv. Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit.
50. Id. ibid. 51. Burnet, book iv. Torrington's *Mem.*

PART II. A.D. 1688. ſuch ſingularly fortunate circumſtances, William's followers began to conſider him and themſelves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven; and that even the learned Dr. Burnet could not help exclaiming, in the words of Claudian,

O nimium dilecte Deo cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

"Heaven's darling Charge! to aid whoſe great deſign
"The fighting ſkies and friendly winds combine."

THE prince of Orange, immediately on his landing, diſperſed a printed Declaration, which had been already publiſhed in Holland, and contributed not a little to his future ſucceſs. In that elaborate performance, written originally in French by the penſionary Fagel, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Burnet, the principal grievances of the three Britiſh kingdoms were enumerated; namely, The exerciſe of a diſpenſing and ſuſpending power; the revival of the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; the filling of all offices with catholics; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where places of worſhip, colleges, and ſeminaries for that ſect; the diſplacing of judges, if they gave ſentence contrary to the orders or the inclinations of the court; the annulling the charters of all the corporations, and thereby ſubjecting elections to arbitrary will and pleaſure; the treating of petitions to the throne, even the moſt modeſt, and from perſons of the higheſt rank, as criminal and ſeditious; the committing of the whole authority in Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papiſts; the aſſuming of an abſolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reſerve. He concluded with proteſting, that the ſole object of his expedition

LETTER XVI. A.D. 1688.

was to procure a redrefs of thefe grievances; to get a legal and free parliament fummoned, that might provide for the liberty and fecurity of the nation, and examine the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, in regard to which he expreffed the moft violent fufpicions[52].

THOUGH this declaration was received with ardour by the nation, the prince, for fome time after his landing, could not boaft of his good fortune. A great deal of rain having fallen, the roads were rendered almoft impaffible; and he poffeffed neither cattle nor carriages fufficient to convey the baggage of his army. He directed, however, his encumbered march to Exeter; but without being joined by any perfon of eminence,

52. The proofs produced by James, in fupport of the birth of his fon, before an extraordinary council, to which the lords both fpiritual and temporal were fummoned, and at which the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and all the judges were prefent, were as ftrong as any that can perhaps be produced to eftablifh fuch a fact. But if any doubts in regard to this matter could ftill remain in the moft prejudiced mind, the declaration of the duke of Berwick, the king's natural fon, and a man of unimpeached veracity, would be fufficient to remove them. "I "could fpeak knowingly on the fubject," fays he, "for I was prefent; "and, notwithftanding my refpect and attachment to the king, I could "never have confented to fo deteftable an action, as that of introducing "a fuppofititious child, in order to deprive the true heirs of the crown. "Much lefs fhould I have continued, after the king's death, to fupport "the pretenfions of an impoftor: honour and confcience would have "reftrained me." (*Mem. of the Duke of Berwick*, written by himfelf, vol. i. p. 40.) The anfwer of Anne princefs of Denmark (July 4, 1688). to the queftions of her fifter Mary princefs of Orange, relative to the birth of the prince of Wales, is ftill more fatisfactory. Though feemingly difpofed to favour the idea of an impofture, fhe enumerates fo particularly, even to *indelicacy*, the *circumftances* attending the queen's *delivery*, and the perfons of both fexes prefent at it (who were many, and of high rank), that it is truly aftonifhing William fhould afterward have affigned the illegitimacy of the prince of Wales as one of his reafons for landing in England. (Dalrymp. *Append.* part ii.) See farther on this much contefted fubject, a *Letter from Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne to the Princefs Sophia*, ubi fup.

 either

PART II. A.D. 1688.

either on his way, or for eight days after his arrival at that place. His troops were discouraged: he himself began to think of abandoning his enterprize; and actually held a council of his principal officers, to deliberate whether he should not reimbark [53]. Impatient of disappointment, he is said even to have publicly declared his resolution to permit the English nation to settle their own differences with their king; and to direct his father-in-law where to punish, by transmitting to him the secret correspondence of his subjects [54].

THE friends of the court exulted mightily at the coldness of William's reception; but their joy was of short duration. One Burrington, having shewn the example, the prince was speedily joined by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset, and an association was signed for his support. The earl of Abington, Mr. Russell, son of the earl of Bedford, lord Wharton, Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Howe, and a number of other persons of distinction, repaired to Exeter. All England was soon in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the city of York was seized by the earl of Danby; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the Prince; and the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. Every day discovered some new instance of that general confederacy into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. But the most dangerous symptom, and that which rendered his affairs desperate, was the defection of the army. Many of the principal officers were inspired with the prevailing spirit of the nation, and disposed to prefer the interests of their country to their duty to their sovereign.

53. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 54. *Dalrymple's Append.*

 Though

Though they might love James, and have a due ſenſe of the favours he had conferred upon them, they were ſtartled at the thought of rendering him abſolute maſter not only of the liberties, but even of the lives and properties of his ſubjects; and yet this, they ſaw, muſt be the conſequence of ſuppreſſing the numerous inſurrections, and obliging the prince of Orange to quit the kingdom. They therefore determined rather to bear the reproach of infidelity than to run the hazard of becoming the inſtruments of deſpotiſm.

THE example of deſertion among the officers was ſet by lord Colcheſter, ſon of the earl of Rivers, and by lord Cornbery, ſon of the earl of Clarendon. The king had arrived at Saliſbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received this alarming intelligence; but as the ſoldiers in general ſeemed firm in their allegiance, and the officers in a body, expreſſed their abhorrence of ſuch treachery, he reſolved to advance upon the invaders. Unfortunately, however, for his affairs, the Dutch had already taken poſſeſſion of Axminſter. A ſudden bleeding at the noſe, with which he was ſeized, occaſioned a delay of ſome days; and farther ſymptoms of defection appearing among the officers, he judged it prudent to retire toward London. Lord Churchill, afterward the great duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Grafton, natural ſon of Charles II. who had given their opinion for remaining at Saliſbury, fled under cover of the night to the prince of Orange. Succeſſive misfortunes poured in on the unfortunate monarch. Trelawney, who occupied an advanced poſt at Warminſter, deſerted with all his captains, except one. Prince George of Denmark, the king's ſon-in-law, and the young duke of Ormond, left him at Andover. Every day dimi-

PART II. A.D. 1688. Nov. 26. nished the number of his officers; and to increase his accumulated misfortunes, he found, at his arrival in London, that his favourite daughter, Anne, princess of Denmark, had secretly withdrawn herself the night before, in company with lady Churchill[55]. All his firmness of mind left him: tears started from his eyes; and he broke out into sorrowful exclamations, expressive of his deep sense of his now lost condition. "God help me," cried he, in the agony of his heart, "my own children have forsaken me!"

Henceforth, the conduct of the infatuated James is so much marked with folly and pusillanimity, as to divest his character of all respect, and almost his sufferings of compassion. Having assembled, as a last resource, a council of the peers then in London, he issued by their advice, writs for a new parliament, and appointed the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Godolphin, his commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. Thinking the season for negociation past, William continued to advance with his army, at the same time that he amused the commissioners. Though he knew they were all devoted to his cause, he long denied them an audience. Meanwhile James, distracted by his own fears, and alarmed by the real or pretended apprehensions of others, sent the queen and the prince of Wales privately into France, and embraced the extraordinary resolution of Dec. 10. following them in person. He accordingly left his palace at midnight, attended only by Sir Edward Hales; and, in order to complete his imprudence and despair, he commanded the earl of Feversham to disband the army, recalled the writs for the meeting

55. Burnet, book iv. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1688.

of the parliament, and threw the great-ſeal into the Thames[56]!

LETTER XVI.

A. D. 1688.

If James had deliberately reſolved to place the prince of Orange on the throne of England, he could not have purſued a line of conduct more effectual for that purpoſe. Beſides the odious circumſtances of ſeeking refuge with the heir of the crown in a country diſtinguiſhed for popery and arbitrary power, and recalling the writs for a free parliament, the anarchy and diſorder which enſued, on the ſudden diſſolution of government, made all men look up to William as the Saviour of the nation. The populace roſe in London, and not only deſtroyed all the popiſh chapels, but even rifled the houſes of the ambaſſadors of catholic princes and ſtates, where many of the papiſts had lodged their moſt valuable effects. Riot and devaſtation every where prevailed. The whole body of the people, releaſed from the reſtraints of law, felt one general movement; and new violences were apprehended from the licentious ſoldiers, whom Feverſham had diſbanded, without either diſarming or paying them[57].

In order to remedy theſe evils, and reſtore public tranquillity, an office which ſeemed now beyond the power of the civil magiſtrate, ſuch of the biſhops and peers as were in London aſſembled in Guildhall; and erecting themſelves into a ſupreme council, executed all the functions of royalty. They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: they iſſued their commands, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, to the neglected

56. Id. Ibid. 57. Ralph. Hume.

army

PART II. A.D. 1688. army of James, and to all the garrifons in England. They ordered the militia to be raifed; and they publifhed a declaration, by which they unanimoufly refolved, to apply to the prince of Orange to fettle the affairs of the nation, deferted by the king, through the influence of evil counfellors.

WILLIAM was not backward in affuming that authority, which the imprudence of James had devolved upon him. He exercifed, in his perfon, many acts of fovereignty; and, in order to make his prefence more welcome in London, he is faid to have propagated a report, that the difbanded Irifh had taken arms, and begun a general maffacre of the proteftants. Such a rumour at leaft was fpread all over the kingdom, and begot univerfal confternation. The alarm bells were rung, the beacons fired; and men fancied they faw at a diftance the fmoke of the burning cities, and heard the dying groans of thofe who were flaughtered by the enemies of their religion [59]! Nothing lefs than the approach of the prince of Orange and his proteftant army, it was thought, could fave the capital from ruin.

WILLIAM had advanced to Windfor, when he received the unwelcome news, that the king had been feized in difguife, by fome fifhermen, near Feverfham in Kent, on fuppofition that he was fome popifh prieft, or other delinquent, who wanted to make his efcape. This intelligence threw all parties into confufion. The prince of Orange fent orders to James, not to approach nearer to London than Rochefter. But the meffenger miffed him on the way, and he once more

59. Hift. Defert. p. 91. Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit.

entered

entered his capital amid the loudeſt acclamations of joy. The people forgot his miſconduct in his miſfortunes, and all orders of men ſeemed to welcome his return [60].

THIS, however, was only a tranſient gleam before a new ſtorm. Scarce had the king retired to his bedchamber, when he received a meſſage from the prince, deſiring him to remove to Ham, a houſe bolonging to the ducheſs of Lauderdale; and the following night, as he was going to reſt, the Dutch guards, without farther notice, took poſſeſſion of his palace, and diſplaced the Engliſh, to the great diſguſt of the army, and no inconſiderable part of the nation. James ſet out next morning, by permiſſion, for Rocheſter, in preference to Ham, under a Dutch guard; and although convinced, that he could not do a more acceptable ſervice to his rival, and that he had underrated the loyalty of his ſubjects, he ſtill reſolved to make his eſcape to France.

THE earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Aileſbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, the gallant lord Dundee, and other officers of diſtinction, who had aſſembled at Rocheſter, argued ſtrenuouſly againſt this reſolution. They repreſented to the king, that the opinion of mankind began already to change, and that events would daily riſe in favour of his authority. "The "queſtion, Sir," urged Dundee, with all his generous ardour, "is whether you will ſtay in England or fly "to France? Whether you ſhall truſt the returning "zeal of your native ſubjects, or rely on a foreign "power?—Here you ought to ſtand. Keep poſſeſ-

60. Burnet, book iv.

"ſion

PART II. A.D. 1688. "sion of a part, and the whole will submit by de- "grees. Resume the spirit of a king; summon your "subjects to their allegiance: your army, though "disbanded, is not annihilated. Give me your com- "mission, and I will collect ten thousand of your "troops: I will carry your standard at their head "through England, and drive before you the Dutch "and their prince." James replied, that he believed it might be done, but that it would occasion a civil war; and he would not do so much mischief to a people who would soon return to their senses. Middleton, who saw the fallacy of this opinion, pressed him to stay, though in the remotest part of his kingdom. "Your majesty," said he, "may throw things into "confusion by your departure, but it will be only the "anarchy of a month: a new government will soon "be settled; and then you and your family are ruined "for ever[61]."

But these animated remonstrances could not inspire with new firmness a mind broken by apprehension and terror. Afraid of being taken off either by poison or assassination[62], and mortified at his present abject condition, James continued to meditate his escape; and as the back-door of the house in which he lodged was intentionally left without any guard, he found no difficulty in accomplishing his design. He privately withdrew at midnight, accompanied by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, and went on board a large sloop, which waited for him in the river Medway. After some obstructions, he safely arrived at Ambleteuse, in Picardy; whence he hastened to St.

Dec. 23.

61. Macpherson's *Original Papers*, 1688. 62. James II. 1688.

Germains,

Germains, where the queen and the prince of Wales had arrived the day before [63].

Thus, my dear Philip, ended the reign of James II. a prince not deſtitute of virtue or abilities, but who, as you have ſeen, was ſo enſlaved by the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and blinded with the love of arbitrary power, that he obſtinately violated the civil and religious conſtitution of his country; and was, therefore, juſtly deprived of the throne. Who had a right to fill that throne? is a queſtion which we ſhall afterward have occaſion to diſcuſs. In the mean time, I muſt carry forward the progreſs of the prince of Orange; obſerving, by the way, that whatever reſtraints might have been impoſed on the regal authority, which had been abuſed, the king's deſertion of his people, though in ſome meaſure deſerted by them, only could have occaſioned the utter loſs of his crown, or have changed the line of ſucceſſion.

The ſame day that James left Whitehall, William arrived at St. James's. It happened to rain very heavily, and yet great numbers came to ſee him. But, after they had ſtayed long in the wet, he diſappointed them. Being an enemy to ſhew and parade, perhaps from a conſciouſneſs of his ungraceful figure, and dead to the voice of popular joy, he went through the park to the palace [64]. Even this trifling incident helped to alter the ſentiments of the people; and being now cool, they judged more impartially. They conſidered it as an unnatural thing for the prince of Orange to waken his father-in-law out of his ſleep, and force him from his own palace, when he was ready

63. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1688.
64. Burnet, book iv.

to

PART II. A.D. 1688. to ſubmit to every thing: they began even to ſuſpect, that this *ſpecious undertaking* would prove to be only "a *diſguiſed* and *deſigned uſurpation*[65]. The public bodies, however, waited upon the prince, and expreſſed their zeal for his cauſe: and, among others, the gentlemen of the law, with old ſerjeant Maynard at their head; who, when William took notice of his great age, and ſaid he muſt have outlived all the lawyers of his time, wittily replied, "I ſhould have outlived the law it-"ſelf, if your hignefs had not come over[66]!"

THE only thing that now remained for all parties was the ſettlement of the kingdom. With this view, the peers met in their own houſe; and the prince laid before them his Declaration, as the foundation of their deliberations. In the courſe of debate it was urged, That the king, by withdrawing, had diveſted himſelf of his authority, and that government itſelf had ſuffered a demiſe in law[67]. A free parliament was, therefore, declared to be the only means of obtaining a legal ſettlement; and the reſult of the whole was, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the prince of Orange, deſiring him to aſſume the adminiſtration of government, and to ſummon a convention. The offer was too alluring to be rejected; but William, cautious in all his proceedings, judged it ſtill neceſſary to ſtrengthen the reſolution of the lords with the authority of the commons. For that purpoſe, a judicious expedient was fallen npon. All the members of the three laſt parliaments, who were in London, were invited to meet, together with the lord mayor, the court of aldermen, and fifty members of the common-council. This mixed aſſembly, which was regarded as the moſt

65. Id. Ibid.
66. Burnet, book iv.
67. Clarendon's *Diary*, Dec. 26, 1688.

equal reprefentation of the people that could be obtained in the prefent emergency, unanimoufly voted an addrefs, the fame in fubftance with that of the lords; and the prince, fupported by fo great a part of the nation, difpatched his circular letters to the various boroughs, counties, and corporations in England, for a general election of reprefentatives[68]. LETTER XVI. A.D. 1688.

WHILE the Revolution thus approached to maturity in England, the people of Scotland were not idle fpectators. The Prefbyterians in that kingdom, who had long been perfecuted and oppreffed, compofed the bulk of the nation; and as the prince of Orange was of their perfuafion, the moft fervent prayers were offered for his fuccefs, as foon as his defigns were known. He had undertaken to deliver Scotland as well as England; and, in order to facilitate his views, the popular party, on receiving his Declaration, diffolved the few regular troops that remained in the kingdom, and affumed the reins of government. Thirty noblemen, and about eighty gentlemen, repaired to London; and, forming themfelves into a kind of convention, requefted the Prince to take into his hands the adminiftration of Scotland. He thanked them for the truft they had repofed in him, and fummoned a general convention to meet at Edinburgh. This affembly being regarded as illegal by the more zealous Royalifts, they took little fhare in the elections; fo that the popular party, or the Whigs, were returned for moft places. The proceedings of the members of the Scottifh convention were accordingly bold and decifive. They ordered, by proclamation, all perfons between the age of fix- A.D. 1689. Jan. 7.

68. Burnet, ubi fup. Echard, vol. iii.

teen

PART II. A.D. 1689.

teen and ſixty to be ready to take arms: they gave the command of the militia to Sir Patrick Hume, one of their moſt active leaders: they raiſed eight hundred men for a guard, under the earl of Leven: they impowered the Duke of Hamilton, their preſident, to ſecure all diſaffected and ſuſpected perſons; and without amuſing themſelves with nice diſtinctions, and the latent meaning of words, they reſolved, "That "king James, by mal-adminiſtration, and by his abuſe "of power, had *forfeited* his *right* of the crown." They therefore declared the throne *vacant*, and invited the Prince and Princeſs of Orange to take poſſeſſion of it, though not without due attention to their civil and religious rights[69].

In the mean time, the Engliſh convention had met; and after a long debate, the commons came to the following memorable reſolution:—"That king "James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the con"ſtitution, by breaking the *Original Contract*, between "*King* and *People*; and having violated the funda"mental laws, and withdrawn himſelf from the "kingdom, has *abdicated* the government; and that "the throne is thereby become *vacant*[70]." This reſolution was carried up to the houſe of peers, where it met with much oppoſition, and many warm debates enſued. The moſt curious of theſe was, "Whether "any original contract ſubſiſted between the king "and the people?"—a queſtion more fit for the ſchools than a national aſſembly, but which the vote of the commons had rendered neceſſary. Arguments may ſurely be produced from reaſon, to prove a

69. Balcarras's *Minutes of the Convention.* Burnet, book iv. v.
70. *Journals*, Jan. 28, 1689.

kind

LETTER XVI. A. D. 1689.

kind of tacit compact between the sovereign and the subject; but such a compact has seldom had any actual existence. The English national charters, however, seemed to realize such a compact: and these charters had all been recognised and confirmed by the Bill of Rights; a solemn and recent transaction between the king, the nobles, and the representatives of the people. The majority of the lords, therefore, declared for an Original Contract; and the house almost constantly resolved, That James had *broken* that *Contract*[71].

THE opposition, however, did not end here. The lords proceeded to take into consideration the word *abdicated*, contained in the vote of the commons; and, after some debate, agreed that *deserted* was more proper. The next and concluding question was, "Whether king James, having *broken* the *original contract*, "and *deserted* the *government*, the *throne* is thereby "*vacant*?" This question was debated with more warmth than any of the former; and, on a division, it was carried by eleven voices against a *vacancy*. The vote of the commons was sent back with these amendments; and as they continued obstinate, a free conference was appointed between the two houses, in order to settle the controversy.

NEVER perhaps was there a national debate of more importance, or managed by more able speakers. The leaders of the commons contended, that although the word *deserted* might be more significant and intelligible, as applied to the king's withdrawing himself, it could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws. The managers

71. *Journals of the Lords*, Jan. 30.

PART II. A.D. 1689.

for the lords, changing their ground, insisted, That admitting the king's abuse of power to be equivalent to an abdication, it could operate no otherwise than his voluntary resignation, or natural death, and could only make way for the next heir; who, though they did not name him, they insinuated, being yet an infant in the cradle, could have committed no crime: and no just reason, they thought, could be assigned, why, without any default of his own, he should lose a crown to which he was entitled by his birth. The leaders of the commons replied, That the oath of allegiance, which binds the subject to the heirs of the king as well as to himself regarded only a natural demise, and that there was no provision in law for a civil demise, which seemed equivalent to an attainder; that although upon the death of a king, whose administration had been agreeable to the laws, many and great inconveniencies would be endured, rather than exclude the lineal successor; yet when, as in the present case, the people, on the principle of self-preservation, had been obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to dethrone a prince who had violated the constitution, that the government reverted, in some measure, to its first principles, and the community acquired a right of providing for the public welfare by the most rational expedients.

THE members of the convention might surely establish a new precedent, as well as their ancestors. Never could a more fair representation of the people be obtained; and the people, it must be allowed, though they cannot deliberate in a body, have a right, on every revolution, and whenever their constitutional liberties are invaded, to chuse their own governors, as well as the form of government under which

which they desire to live, unless the monstrous doctrine of MANY made for ONE should be revived. The two houses, however, parted without coming to any conclusion; but as it was impossible for the nation to remain long in its present state, the majority of the lords, in consequence of the desertion of some Tories to the Whig party, at last agreed to pass the vote of the commons, without any alteration or amendment [72]. LETTER XVI. A.D. 1689.

THIS grand controversy being got over, the next question was, " Who should fill the vacant throne [73] ? The marquis of Halifax, in order to recommend himself to the future sovereign, moved that the crown should be immediately conferred upon the Prince of Orange. The earl of Danby, his political rival, proposed to confer it solely on the Princess; and others contended for a regency. William, who had hitherto behaved with great moderation and magnanimity, avoiding to interfere in the debates of either house, and disdaining even to bestow caresses on those members whose influence might be useful to him, now perceiving that he was likely to lose the great object of his ambition, broke through that mysterious reserve, and seeming apathy, in which he had been so long wrapt. He called together Halifax, Shrewsbury,

72. *Journals of the Lords*, Feb. 6.

73. During all these debates, it seems somewhat extraordinary, that no enquiry was made concerning the birth of the prince of Wales; more especially as such an inquiry had been expressly mentioned by the prince of Orange in his Declaration. The reasons assigned by Burnet for this neglect, though plausible, are by no means conclusive. (*Hist. Own Times*, book iv.) The only substantial reason for such omission seems to be, That the Whigs finding it impracticable to prove an imposture, even by presumptive evidence, judged it prudent to let the matter rest in obscurity.

PART II. A.D. 1689.

Danby, and fome other leading men, and told them, that he had heard fome were for placing the government in the hands of a regent. He would not, he faid, oppofe the meafure; but he thought it neceffary to inform them, that he would not be THAT regent. Others, he added, feemed difpofed to place the Princefs fingly on the throne, and that he fhould reign by her courtefy. This he alfo declined; declaring, that he could not accept of an authority, which fhould depend on the will or the life of another; that no man could efteem a woman more than he did the Princefs Mary, but he could not "think of holding any thing by apron-ftrings!" and therefore, if they did not think fit to make a different fettlement, that he would return to Holland, and concern himfelf no more in their affairs[74].

THIS threat, though not deemed to be altogether fincere, had its weight. Both houfes voted, "That "the Prince and Princefs of Orange fhould be de"clared King and Queen of England;" and a bill was brought in for that purpofe. In this bill, or Inftrument of Settlement, it was provided, That the Prince and Princefs fhould enjoy the crown of England during their natural lives and the life of the furvivor, the fole adminiftration to be in the prince; that, after the death of both, the throne fhould be filled by the heirs of the body of the princefs; and that in default of fuch iffue, Anne, princefs of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, fhould fucceed, before thofe of the prince of Orange, by any other wife

74. Burnet, book iv.

but

but the princess Mary [75]. The Instrument of Settlement, besides regulating the line of succession, also provided against the return of those grievances, which had driven the nation to the present extremity; and, although it ought to have been more full on this head, it declared, and effectually secured from the future encroachments of the sovereign, the most essential rights of the subject. LETTER XVI. A.D. 1689.

THUS, my dear Philip, was happily terminated the great struggle between Privilege and Prerogative, between the crown and the people; which commenced, as you have seen, with the accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England, and continued till their exclusion, when almost a century had elapsed. The Revolution forms a grand æra in the English constitution. By bringing on the decision of many important questions in favour of liberty, and yet more by the memorable precedent of deposing one king and establishing another, with a new line of succession, it gave such an ascendant to popular principles as has put the nature of our government beyond all controversy. A king of England, or of Britain, to use the words of my lord Bolingbroke, is now strictly and properly what a king should be; a member, but the supreme member or head of a political body; distinct from it, or independent of it, in none. He can no longer move in a different orbit from his people; and, like some superior planet, attract, repel, and direct their motions by his own. He and they are parts of the same system, intimately joined, and co-operating

75. *Journals of the Lords*, Feb. 7, 1689. See also the Instrument, or act itself. In this act was inserted a clause, disabling all papists, or such as should marry papists, from succeeding to the crown; and another absolving the subjects, in that case, from their allegiance.

PART II. A. D. 1689.

together; acting and acted upon, limiting and limited, controuling and controuled, by one another: and when he ceases to stand in this relation to them, he ceases to stand in any. The settlements, by virtue of which he governs, are plainly *original contracts*: his institution is plainly *conditional*; and he may forfeit his right to *allegiance*, as undeniably and effectually, as the subject of his right to *protection*[76].

But these advantages, so much and so deservedly praised, and which can never be too highly valued, serve at present only to convince us of the imperfection of all human institutions. Happily poised as our government is, and although the people of this island have enjoyed, since the Revolution, the most perfect system of liberty ever known among mankind, the spirit of patriotism (which, as it gave birth to that system, can alone preserve it entire), has continued to decline; and the freedom, though not the form of our constitution, is now exposed to as much danger from the enslaving *influence* of the crown, as ever it was from the invasions of prerogative or the violence of arbitrary power. The nature of this influence, and the mode of its operation, as well as its rise and progress, I shall afterward have occasion to explain.

We should now return to the affairs on the continent; but, for the sake of perspicuity, it will be proper first to relate the efforts made by James II. for the recovery of his crown.

76. *Dissertation on Parties*, Let. ix.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

LET.

LETTER XVII.

GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *from the Revolution in* 1688, *till the Assassination Plot in* 1696.

THOUGH the Revolution, as we have already seen, my dear Philip, was brought about by a coalition of parties, not by a faction; though Whig and Tory, united by the tyrannical proceedings of James, contributed with their joint efforts to that event, the most glorious in the annals of liberty, yet this union was but the union of a day. No sooner were the Tories freed from the terror of arbitrary power than their high monarchical principles began to return. It was the prevalence of these principles in the English convention, which occasioned those warm and contentious disputes in regard to the vacancy of the throne and the original contract; and which, but for the obstinacy of the Whigs, and the firmness of the prince of Orange, would have rendered the great work in which the nation was engaged imperfect. LETTER XVII. A. D. 1689.

THOUGH disposed to nothing less, as a body, than the restoration of James, the Tories, enslaved by their political prejudices, were startled at the idea of breaking the line of succession. Hence the ridiculous proposal of a regency. And a party, since properly distinguished by the reproachful appellation of *Jacobites*, secretly lurked among the Tories; a party, who from their attachment to the person or the family of the dethroned monarch, and an adherence to the monstrous doctrines of passive obedience and of divine in-

PART II. A.D. 1689.

defeasible hereditary right, wished to bring back the king, and invariably held, that none but a STUART could justly be invested with the regal authority. Of this opinion were all the bigotted high-churchmen and Catholics in the three kingdoms. Among the Whigs, or moderate churchmen and dissenters, in like manner, lurked many enthusiastic Republicans; who hoped, in the national ferment, to effect a dissolution of monarchy.

THE contest between these parties, fomented by the ambitious views of individuals, which long distracted the English government, and is not yet fully composed, began immediately after the Revolution, and threatened the sudden subversion of the new establishment. The silent reserved temper, and solitary disposition of William, early disgusted the citizens of London [1]; and the more violent Tories, who had lost all the merit which their party might otherwise have claimed with the king, by opposing the change in the succession, were enraged at seeing the current of court-favour run chiefly toward the Whigs. The hope of retaining this favour, and with it the principal offices of the state (of which they had been so long in possession, and to which they thought themselves entitled, by the antiquity of their families, and their superiority in landed property) was probably their leading motive for concurring in a revolution which they were sensible they could not prevent. But, whatever their motives might be for such co-operation, they had justly forfeited all title to royal favour, by their subsequent conduct, not only in the estimation of William, but of all the zealous lovers of their country. They reverted to an-

1. Burnet, book v.

cient

tient prejudices and narrow principles, at a crisis when the nation was ready to embrace the most enlarged way of thinking, with respect both to religion and government. LETTER XVII. A.D. 1689.

The church also was enraged at the general toleration which William, soon after his accession, very prudently as well as liberally, granted to all his protestant subjects; and still more by an attempt which he made toward a comprehension in England; while the whole episcopal body in Scotland took part with the Jacobites, in consequence of the re-establishment of the Presbyterian religion in that kingdom. This establishment the Scottish convention, which consisted chiefly of Presbyterians, had demanded. They connected it intimately with the settlement of the crown[2]; and their spirit, in so doing, deserves to be admired. But William had little to fear from that quarter. The Presbyterians, who composed about three-fourths of the inhabitants of Scotland, were not only able to defend the new settlement, but willing to do it at the hazard of their lives. The state of Ireland was very different.

The great body of the people in that kingdom were Roman Catholics. The earl of Tyrconnel, a violent Papist, was lord-lieutenant; and all employments, civil and military, were in the hands of the same sect. Yet this man, who had induced the infatuated James, by working on his civil and religious prejudices, to invade the privileges of the Irish corporations, in the same manner as those of England had been attacked by Charles II. and who, under the plausible pretence of relieving some distressed and

2. Burnet, ubi sup.

really

PART II. A.D. 1689.

really injured papifts, had prepared a bill for deftroying the whole fettlement of the kingdom, as eftablifhed at the Reftoration, and which would have given to the crown the difpofal of almoft all the lands in Ireland; this apparently zealous Catholic, and pioufly loyal fubject, is faid to have traiteroufly made an offer of his government to the prince of Orange [3]; and William is faid to have politically refufed it, that he might have a decent pretext for keeping up an army, in order to fecure the obedience of England, and that he might be enabled, by Irifh forfeitures, to gratify his Englifh and foreign favourites [4]!

BUT one who lived at the time, who was no friend to William, and who had every opportunity of knowing the character and examining the adminiftration of Tyrconnel, declares that his *firmnefs* preferved Ireland in the intereft of James, and that he *nobly* rejected all the *advantageous offers* which were made to induce him to fubmit to the prince of Orange [5]: and the general tenor of his conduct, as well as the teftimony of other cotemporary writers, feems to prove, That the propofals which he fent to the Prince were only intended to gain time, that he might be enabled to put his government in a better ftate of defence, and procure affiftance from France [6]. William, however,

3. Dalrymple's *Append.* 4. Macpherfon's *Hift. of Brit.* vol. i.
5. Duke of Berwick *Mem.* i.
6. In reafoning fo circumftantially on this fubject, I am lefs influenced by any defire of vindicating the conduct of William or of Tyrconnel, than of fhewing the infufficiency of thofe *original papers*, which have been fo liberally produced of late years, to alter our opinion of the eftablifhed characters of men: for, as in the prefent cafe, Tyrconnel's *offer* to *negociate* with William is no *proof* of his being *a traitor* to James; fo, in moft other cafes, our ignorance of the motives of the parties ought to make us fufpend our judgment on fuch doubtful or fufpicious evidence,

ever, though fomewhat fufpicious of his fincerity, did not flight the advances of the lord-lieutenant: he difpatched general Hamilton, his countryman and friend, to treat with him. Hamilton betrayed his truft [7]: Tyrconnel, in conformity with his real views, levied a great body of troops, which having no regular pay, were left to live upon the plunder of the Proteftants; and thefe unhappy people, roufed by oppreffion, and fearing a general maffacre, flew to arms, and throwing themfelves into Londonderry, Innifkilling, and other places of ftrength, hoped to be able to hold out till they fhould obtain relief from England [8].

In the mean time James, who had been received with marks of the moft cordial affection by Lewis XIV. either from a fympathy of religious fentiments,

dence. At any rate, thefe *abortive intrigues*, and infidious anecdotes, which have been brought as a charge againft fo many otherwife unfullied reputations, are fitter for the chronicle of fcandal, or the memoirs of individuals, than the page of general hiftory, which they can ferve only to contaminate and perplex. Little farther attention fhall, therefore, be paid to them in the body of this work; which has chiefly for its object *important events*, with their caufes and confequences.

To throw a fhade over the brighteft characters, cannot furely be a defirable employment for a liberal mind; yet have fome men of talents undertaken this invidious tafk, and profecuted it with unwearied induftry. They who love to contemplate human nature on the dark fide, will find fufficient food for their paffion in Dalrymple's *Appendix*, and Macpherfon's *Original Papers*. Happily, however, thefe papers, contrary to the apparent purpofe of the compilers, furnifh arguments for the advocates of freedom, as well as the abettors of defpotifm. I have acccordingly ufed them as a counter-poifon.

7. This treachery was attended with a very ftriking circumftance. Sir William Temple's fon, who was fecretary at war to king William, having engaged himfelf for the fidelity of Hamilton, was fo much mortified at his defection, that he put an end to his own life, by leaping out of a boat into the Thames. Clarendon's *Diary*.

8. Burnet. King.

PART II. A.D. 1689. or with a view of making him subservient to his ambition, was preparing to make a descent in Ireland. Pressed by the solicitions, and encouraged by the favourable representations of Tyrconnel, he accordingly embarked at Brest, early in the spring, and landed safely at Kinsale, March 12. with only twelve hundred men, all his native subjects, one hundred French officers and some gentlemen of distinction [8]. Seven battalions of French troops were afterwards sent over [9]. But these, and all his Irish forces, were by no means sufficient to oppose the veteran army of William.

JAMES and his adherents, however, had other ideas of the matter. Elated at the presence of a prince, who had lost two kingdoms from his predilection for their religion, the Irish catholics every where received him with the highest demonstrations of joy. But this rage of loyalty, by involving him in measures subversive not only of the Protestant interest, but of all the laws of justice and humanity, has disgraced his character, and proved highly injurious to his cause. Having assembled a parliament, consisting chiefly of Catholics, a bill was passed for repealing the Act of Settlement, by which the Protestants were secured in the possession of their estates; and, in order to complete the ruin of the whole sect, an act of attainder was afterward passed against all Protestants, male and female, who were absent from the kingdom; who did not acknowledge the authority of king James, or who had been any way connected with rebels from the first day of August in the preceding year [10]. The number of Protestants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thousand. Another violent

8. James II. 1689. 9. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.
10. Burnet. Ralph. King.

act was paſſed, declaring Ireland independent of the Engliſh parliament [11].

LETTER XVII.

A.D. 1689.

WHILE James was thus attempting to eſtabliſh his authority in Ireland, by flattering the prejudices of the natives, William was engaged in managing the Engliſh parliament, and in conducting that great ſyſtem of continental policy, of which he had been ſo long the centre. To both theſe ends the violence of the Iriſh Catholics, their influence with the dethroned monarch, and his throwing himſelf into their hands, contributed not a little; and William, in order ſtill farther to quiet and unite the minds of men, as well as to promote his own views, recommended to the parliament an act of general indemnity, and procured an addreſs for a declaration of war againſt France. Both propoſals were readily embraced. Inflamed with ancient and hereditary hate, and rouſed by recent jealouſy, the Engliſh nation had long been deſirous of turning its arms againſt Lewis XIV. and the ſuppoſed attachment of James to the French intereſt, his bigotry not excepted, had been the principal cauſe of his ruin. Had he acceded to the league of Augſburg, he would never have loſt his crown. Threatned by that league, and willing to ſtrike the firſt blow, Lewis had ſent an army into Alſace, and made himſelf maſter of Philipſburg in 1688. This violence, which was immediately ſucceeded by others, alarmed the emperor, Spain, Holland, and all the confederate powers on the continent. They ſaw the neceſſity of having immediate recourſe to arms; and the interpoſition of France in the affairs of Ireland, furniſhed William with a good pretence for throwing

11. Ibid.

the

PART II. A.D. 1689. the whole weight of England into the hoſtile ſcale. The confederacy was now complete.

But the critical ſtate of his new dominions called off the attention of William, for a time, from the continential ſyſtem. The duke of Gordon ſtill held out the caſtle of Edinburgh for James; and the viſcount Dundee, the ſoul of the Jacobite party in Scotland, having collected a ſmall but gallant army of Highlanders, threatened with ſubjection the whole northern part of the kingdom. Dundee, who had publicly diſavowed the authority of the Scottiſh convention, had been declared an out-law by that aſſembly; and general Mackay was ſent againſt him with a body of regular troops. Lord Murray, ſon to the marquis of Athol, had laid ſiege to the caſtle of Blair, which was held by ſome of the adherents of James. Sir Alexander Maclean, by Dundee's order, marched againſt Murray, and forced him to raiſe the ſiege. But this event did not decide the conteſt. Mackay, who had hitherto contented himſelf with obſtructing the progreſs, or watching the motions of the Highlanders, reſolved to reduce the diſputed caſtle, and put himſelf in motion for that purpoſe.

Apprised of the deſign of his antagoniſt, Dundee ſummoned up all his enterpriſing ſpirit, and by forced marches arrived in Athol before him. Next morning July 17. he was informed that Mackay's vanguard, conſiſting of four hundred men, had cleared the paſs of Killicranky; a narrow defile, formed by the ſteep ſide of the Grampian-hills, and a dark, rapid, and deep river. Though chagrined at this intelligence, Dundee was not diſconcerted. He immediately diſpatched Sir Alexander

Alexander Maclean to attack the enemy's advanced party, with an equal number of his clan, while he himfelf fhould approach with the main body of the Highlanders. But before Maclean had proceeded a mile, Dundee received information that Mackay had marched through the pafs with his whole army. He commanded Maclean to halt, and boldly advanced with his faithful band, determined to give battle to the enemy. LETTER XVII. A.D. 1689.

MACKAY's army, confifting of four thoufand five hundred foot, and two troops of horfe, was formed in eight battalions, and ready for action, when Dundee came in view. His own brave, but undifciplined followers, of all ranks and conditions, did not exceed three thoufand three hundred men. Thefe he inftantly ranged in hoftile array. They ftood inactive for feveral hours in fight of the enemy, on the fteep fide of a hill, which faced the narrow plain where Mackay had formed his line, neither party chufing to change their ground. But the fignal for battle was no fooner given, than the Highlanders rufhed down the hill in deep columns; and having difcharged their mufkets with effect, they had recourfe to the broadfword, their proper weapon, with which they furioufly attacked the enemy. Mackay's left wing was inftantly broken, and driven from the field with great flaughter by the Macleans, who formed the right of Dundee's army. The Macdonalds, who compofed his left, were not equally fuccefsful: colonel Haftings's regiment of Englifh foot repelled their moft vigorous efforts, and obliged them to retreat. But Sir Alexander Maclean and Sir Evan Cameron, at the head of part of their refpective clans, fuddenly affailed this gallant regiment in flank, and forced it to give way, or cut it in pieces.

THE

PART II.

The victory was now complete. Two thousand of Mackay's army were slain; and his artillery, baggage, ammunition, provisions, and even king William's Dutch standard, fell into the hands of the Highlanders. But their joy, like a smile upon the cheek of death, delusive and insincere, was of short duration. Dundee was mortally wounded, in the pursuit, by a musket shot. He survived the battle, but expired soon after, and with him perished the hopes of James in Scotland. The castle of Edinburgh had already surrendered to the convention; and the Highlanders, discouraged by the loss of a leader whom they loved and almost adored, gradually dispersed themselves, and returned to their savage mountains, to bewail him in their songs [12]. His memory is still dear to them: he is considered as the last of their heroes; and his name, even to this day, is seldom mentioned among them without a sigh or a tear [13]. Dundee, indeed, appears to have been a very extraordinary man. Beside great knowledge of the military art, the talent of seizing advantages, and the most perfect recollection in in battle, he possessed, in no common degree, that distinguishing feature of the heroic character, the power of influencing the opinions of others, and of inspiring them with his own ardour.

Fortune did not prove more favourable to the affairs of James in Ireland. His most important enterprise was the siege of Londonderry. Before this town he appeared in person, with a large army, commanded by the marefchal de Rosen, de Maumont, general Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, and other officers of distinction. But so bold was the spirit of

12. MS. *Accounts* in Dalrymple and Macpherson. Those of Macpherson are chiefly followed in this narration. 13. Macpherson.

A.D. 1689.

the inhabitants, that, inſtead of tamely ſurrendering, they gallantly repelled all attempts to reduce the place, and even annoyed the beſiegers with their ſallies. At length, however, weakened and diſtreſſed by famine, and diminiſhed in number by peſtilence, its too common attendant, they were reduced almoſt to deſpair. In order finally to complete their depreſſion, in this frightful extremity, mareſchal de Roſen, in the abſence of James, collected all the Proteſtants in the neighbouring country, to the number of four or five thouſand, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, and cruelly placed them between his lines and the walls of the town; where many of them were ſuffered to periſh of hunger, from a perſuaſion that the beſieged would either relieve their friends or ſurrender the place. But this barbarous expedient had no ſuch effect: it ſerved only to confirm the inhabitants in their reſolution of holding out to the laſt man. Happily, before their perſeverance utterly failed, a reinforcement arrived from England with ammunition and proviſions, and the beſiegers thought proper to abandon the undertaking [14].

THE difficulties of James now crowded faſt upon him. Soon after the failure of this enterprize, the mareſchal, created duke of Schomberg, landed in Ireland with ten thouſand men. But the impracticable nature of the country, his inacquaintance with it, and the declining ſeaſon, prevented that able and experienced general from making any progreſs before the cloſe of the campaign. During the winter, however, though his troops ſuffered greatly by diſeaſe, he gained ſome advantages over the Iriſh; and William, in

14. King. Burnet. Duke of Berwick. James II. 1689.

PART II. A.D. 1690. order to quicken his operations, and put at once an end to the war, came over in perſon, with a freſh army, the beginning of next ſummer.

JAMES, on this occaſion, embraced a reſolution that has been conſidered as raſh, but worthy of a ſovereign contending for his laſt kingdom. Though his army was inferior in numbers as well as in diſcipline, to that of his rival, he determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. He accordingly took poſt on the ſouthern bank of the Boyne, and extended his troops in two lines, oppoſed to the deep and dangerous fords of that river. No poſition could be more advantageous. A moraſs defended him on the left, and in his rear lay the village of Dunore, where he had entrenched a body of troops. But all theſe circumſtances, ſo favourable to James, did not diſcourage William from ſeeking an engagement. After having reconnoitred the ſituation of the enemy, he reſolved, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, to attack them
July 1. next morning, though under no neceſſity of running ſuch a riſk. His army accordingly paſſed the river in three diviſions, one of which he headed in perſon. Schomberg, who led another, was killed ſoon after reaching the oppoſite bank, but not before he had broken the Iriſh infantry. The Iriſh cavalry, commanded by general Hamilton and the duke of Berwick, behaved with more ſpirit, charging and re-charging ten times. But even they were at laſt obliged to yield to ſuperior force. General Hamilton was made priſoner; and James, who had ſhewn ſome courage, but no conduct, thought proper to retreat toward Dublin, under cover of the French auxiliaries, who had never been put into diſorder. His loſs was but ſmall, not exceeding fifteen hundred men; yet was the victory complete,

plete, as many of the Irifh troops deferted their officers during the following night, and returned to their feveral homes[15]. LETTER XVII. A. D. 1690.

THE fubfequent conduct of James was more blamable than either his precipitancy in rifking a battle, or his behaviour during the engagement, allowing both to be deferving of cenfure. No fooner was he informed of the difperfion of his army than he defpondingly gave up Ireland as loft; and, leaving the inhabitants of Dublin to make their own conditions with the victor, immediately embarked for France, though he had ftill many refources left. By bravely collecting his fcattered, but not annihilated forces, and drawing troops from his different garrifons, independent of new levies, he might have appeared in the field more formidable than ever; whereas his pufillanimous flight, by difheartening his friends, and encouraging his enemies, left but a melancholy profpect to his generals.

BUT thefe new refources, and the confequences of neglecting them, did not occur to a mind broken by accumulated misfortunes. Befides the fugitive monarch tells us, that he had hopes of being able to recover the Englifh crown, by means of an armament from France, during the abfence of William and his veteran troops. Thefe hopes, however, fuddenly difappeared; though, on his arrival at Breft, the profpect feemed to brighten. He was there informed, that the French navy had gained a fignal victory over the combined fleet of England and Holland, commanded by the earl of Torrington and admiral Evertzen, and that Tourville was riding triumphant in the

15. Ralph. King. Duke of Berwick. James II. 1690.

PART II. A.D. 1690.

Channel. All this was nearly true; and a defcent in England, in favour of James, might certainly have been made to great advantage, while it was in the power of the French fleet to have prevented the return of William. But the flight of that unfortunate prince from Ireland, had fo difcouraging an afpect, and Lewis XIV. placed fo little faith in the perpetual rumours of infurrections and difcontents in England, that he was refolved not to rifk an army in fuch an enterprize. He, therefore, lent a deaf ear to all James's propofals for an invafion. He even refufed him a fmall fupply of ammunition for the remains of the army in Ireland, faying, that whatever fhould be fent thither would be fo much loft [16]. As a proof of his fincerity, he difpatched tranfports to bring off his own troops. And James labouring under the deepeft mortification and felf-condemnation, was made feverely fenfible, when too late, That a prince, who deferts his own caufe, will foon fee it deferted by all the world.

The Irifh, however, though abandoned by their king and his grand ally, did not refign themfelves to defpondency, or attempt by fubmiffions to conciliate the clemency of their invaders. Seemingly afhamed of their mifbehaviour at the paffage of the Boyne (for it does not deferve the name of a battle), and anxious to vindicate their reputation, they every where made a gallant refiftance; a circumftance which contributed not a little to aggravate the tormenting reflections of James, by convincing him, that his adverfe fortune was more to be afcribed to his own imprudence than to the difloyalty of his fubjects, or their want of zeal in his fervice.

16. James II. 1690.

After

LETTER XVII.

A.D. 1690.

After visiting Dublin, William advanced with his whole army to invest Limerick; into which the remains of James's infantry had thrown themselves, whilst the cavalry, under the command of Berwick and Tyrconnel, kept the field, in order to convey supplies to the garrison. Limerick is situated on the Shannon, where that river is broad, deep, and rapid. Part of the town stands on the Munster side, part on an island in the Shannon, and the castle on the side of Clare. These three divisions were united by two bridges. William, not daring to cross the Shannon in the face of the enemy's cavalry, invested Limerick only on the south side; so that it was in no danger of being distressed for want of provisions. Aware of this disadvantage, he attempted to carry the place by storm, after having made a practicable breach in the walls. But although ten thousand men, by a kind of surprize, made their way into the town, the Irish charged them with such fury in the streets, that they were driven out with great slaughter [17]. Chagrined at his failure in that assault, which cost him near two thousand men, William raised the siege in disgust, and returned soon after to England [18]. August 30.

But this repulse, though inglorious to the British monarch, afforded short relief to the adherents of the dethroned prince. Lord Churchill, created earl of Marlborough, who may justly be denominated the evil genius of James, arrived soon after in Ireland, with five thousand fresh troops. More active and enterprising than William, and even, perhaps, al-

17. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

18. Id. ibid. "He gave out, through Europe," says the duke of Berwick, "that continual rains had been the cause of his abandoning "the enterprize; but I can affirm that not a drop of rain fell for above "a month before, or for three weeks after." *Mem.* vol. i.

 ready

PART II. A.D. 1690. ready more deeply ſkilled in the whole machinery of war, he reduced in a few weeks Corke and Kinſale, though both made a vigorous defence; and having put his army into winter-quarters, he returned to England covered with glory at the cloſe of the campaign [19].

IRELAND, however, was by no means yet ſubdued. Athlone, Galway, Limerick, and other places A.D. 1691. ſtill held out. Athlone was beſieged in the beginning of next campaign by baron Ginckle, who commanded the forces of William. And by an effort of boldneſs and vigour, to which hiſtory ſcarce furniſhes a parallel, the place, though ſtrongly garriſoned, was carried by ſtorm and ſurprize between two and three in the afternoon; and although the Iriſh army lay encamped behind it, and the aſſailants, who had the Shannon to ford, were breaſt-high in water when they advanced to the breach!—St. Ruth, who commanded the Iriſh army, and whom Lewis XIV. had ſent over for that purpoſe, at the requeſt of James, filled with ſhame at his own fatal negligence, determined to hazard a battle with the enemy; and to recover his reputation, or loſe the kingdom and his life in the attempt. He accordingly took poſt at Aghrim, where he waited the approach of Ginckle. An obſtinate engagement enſued, in which the fortune of the day remained long doubtful, but at laſt declared againſt St. Ruth. He was killed by a cannon-ball, in bringing forward his body of reſerve, and his army was totally routed [20].

THE

19. Ralph. King. Duke of Berwick.

20. Ibid. The duke of Berwick is by no means of opinion, that "the crown of Ireland depended on the opportune fall of St. Ruth."

On

LETTER XVII.

A. D. 1691.

The remains of the Irish forces, and the garrison of Galway, took refuge in Limerick, which was a second time besieged by a great army of English and foreign troops; and Tyrconnel being dead, the duke of Berwick recalled, and the impossibility of supporting the war evident, the place capitulated, after a siege of six weeks, and all Ireland submitted to the arms of William[21]. The terms granted to the garrison were highly favourable, not only to the besieged but to all their countrymen in arms. It was agreed that they should receive a general pardon; that their estates should be restored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reversed; that Roman Catholics should enjoy the same toleration, with respect to religion, as in the reign of Charles II. that they should be restored to all the privileges of subjects, on merely taking the oaths of allegiance; and that such as chose to follow the fortunes of James, should be conveyed to the continent at the expence of government[22].

Between twelve and twenty thousand men took advantage of this last article, and were regimented by the dethroned monarch, but paid by the king of France. Among the most distinguished of these refugees was major-general Sarsfield, whom James had created earl of Lucan. He had rendered him-

On the contrary, he declares, that the battle was already lost, and thinks it impossible for St. Ruth to have restored it with his body of reserve, which consisted only of six squadrons. Mem. vol. i.

21. Burnet. Ralph. Duke of Berwick. 22. Articles of Capitulation.

PART II. A.D. 1691. felf very popular in Ireland by oppofing the moderate counfels of Tyrconnel, and was highly exalted in his own opinion, as well as in that of his countrymen, by his fuccefs in feizing a convoy on its way to the Englifh camp before Limerick. He was, fays the duke of Berwick, a man of an amazing ftature, utterly void of fenfe, very good natured, and very brave [23].—We muft now return to the affairs of England.

William, whofe firft care it had been to get the Convention converted into a Parliament, was foon difgufted with that affembly, to which he owed his crown. The obligations on one fide, and the claims of gratitude on the other, were indeed too great to afford any rational profpect of a lafting harmony: and other caufes confpired to excite difcord. The Convention Parliament, which confifted chiefly of Whigs, the ever watchful guardians of liberty, refufed to fettle on William the revenue of the crown for life. Notwithftanding their good opinion of his principles, they were unwilling to render him independent: they, therefore, granted the revenue only for one year. The Tories took advantage of this patriotic jealoufy, to render their rivals odious to the king; who, although educated in a republic, was naturally imperious and fond of power. They reprefented the Whigs as men who were enemies to kingly government, and whom the circumftances of the times

23. *Mem.* vol. i.

only had thrown into the fcale of monarchy. And William, who had publicly declared, That a king without a permanent revenue was no better than a pageant, and who confidered fo clofe a dependence on his fubjects as altogether inconfiftent with the regal authority, readily liftened to fuch infinuations; and, in order to emancipate himfelf, diffolved the parliament[24]. LETTER XVII. A.D. 1691.

The new parliament, which confifted almoft wholly of Tories, not only fettled the revenue of the crown on William for life, but granted liberal fupplies for carrying on the war in Ireland, and on the continent. In thofe votes the Whigs concurred, that they might not feem to deftroy the work of their own hands. But the heads of the party were highly diffatisfied, at feeing that favour, and thofe offices, to which they thought themfelves entitled by their paft fervices, beftowed chiefly upon the Tories. They entered into cabals with the Jacobites, and even held a fecret correfpondence with the dethroned monarch[25]. The Prefbyterians in Scotland, offended at the refervation of patronage, or the power of prefenting minifters to the vacant Kirks, made by the king, in the propofed eftablifhment of their religion, alfo joined in the fame intrigues. But William, by permitting his commiffioner to agree to any law, relative to their ecclefiaftical government, that fhould to the majority of the general affembly feem moft eligible, entirely quieted their difcontents; and, in fome meafure, dif-

24. Burnet, Ralph. 25. Dalrymple's *Append.* James II. 1691.

con-

PART II. A.D. 1691. concerted the deſigns of the diſguſted Whigs in England, with whom they had entered into the moſt intimate connexions, and who hoped to make uſe of the fanatical fury of the Scots, in diſturbing that ſettlement which they had ſo lately founded [26].

THE adherents of James, however, were ſtill numerous in the North of Scotland; and William, by a frightful example of ſeverity, ſeemed determined to awe them into allegiance, or to rouſe them to ſome deſperate act of hoſtility, which might juſtify a general vengeance.

IN conſequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity had been iſſued to ſuch inſurgents as ſhould take the oaths to the king and queen before the laſt day of December, in the year 1691. The heads of all the clans, who had been in arms for James, ſtrictly complied with the terms of the proclamation except Macdonald of Glenco:—and his neglect, in ſuffering the time limited to elapſe, was occaſioned rather by accident than deſign. His ſubmiſſion was afterward received by the ſheriff, though not without ſcruple. This difficulty, however, being got over, he conſidered himſelf as under the protection of the laws, and lived in the moſt perfect ſecurity. But ruin was ready to overtake him for his unpardonable delay in tendering his allegiance. William, at the inſtigation of Sir John Dalrymple, his ſecretary for Scotland, ſigned a warrant of military execution againſt A.D. 1692. Feb. 13. Macdonald and his whole clan. And it was put in force by his countryman Campbell, of Glenlyon, with the moſt ſavage barbarity, accompanied with a breach of

26. Burnet. Balcarras. Macpherſon.

 hoſpitality.

hospitality. Macdonald himself was shot dead with two bullets in the back part of the head, by one Lindsay, an officer whom he had entertained as his guest: his tenants were murdered by the soldiers to whom they had given free quarters: women were killed in defending their tender offspring; and boys, in imploring mercy, were butchered by the the officers to whose knees they clung[27]!—Near forty persons were massacred, and many of those who escaped to the mountains perished of hunger or cold. All the houses in the valley of Glenco were reduced to ashes; the cattle were driven away, and with the other moveables divided as spoil among the officers and soldiers[28]. Never was military execution more complete.

This cruel massacre, which shocked all Europe, could not fail to rouse the resentment of the Jacobites in general, but more especially of the Highlanders; and the dissatisfied Whigs made use of it, in order to render odious the government of William. An insurrection, in favour of the dethroned monarch, was projected both in England and Scotland. James himself had taken all the steps, which his own prudence or the advice of his friends could suggest, to render his return agreeable to his former subjects; and Lewis XIV. encouraged by favourable accounts from Britain, began seriously to think of an invasion. An army of twenty thousand Irish and French troops, under the mareschal de Bellafons, fell down toward the coast of Normandy. James, attended by the duke of Berwick, arrived in the camp, between Cherburg and La Hogue. Three hundred transports were assembled at Brest; and every thing was ready for the intended embark-

27. *Enquiry into the Massacre of Glenco. State Tracts*, vol. iii.
28. Ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1692. barkation, when an unfortunate concurrence of circumſtances defeated the whole enterprize [29].

Lewis, victorious by ſea as well as land, had appointed a powerful naval force to ſupport this invaſion. But the Toulon ſquadron, conſiſting of thirty ſail, commanded by d'Eſtrees, was prevented, by contrary winds, from joining the Breſt fleet, under Tourville. Meanwhile the alarm of an invaſion had ſpread to England, and the earl of Marlborough, and ſeveral other perſons of leſs note, were ſent to the Tower, on ſuſpicion of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with their dethroned ſovereign [30]. Admiral Ruſſell was ordered out with the Engliſh fleet; and having form-

29. *Stuart Papers*, 1692. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

30. The earl of Marlborough certainly held a ſecret correſpondence with James; but that unfortunate monarch never believed him to be ſincere: he ſuſpected him of a deſign to betray his ſovereign a ſecond time. Admiral Ruſſell ſeems alſo to have entered into theſe intrigues: and James had no better opinion of his ſincerity. He was apprehenſive that Ruſſell, as a man of republican principles, wanted only to unhinge the government, and to debaſe the crown in the perſon of fallen majeſty. James II. 1692. See alſo Dalrymple's *Append.* and Macpherſon's *Original Papers.*

But whatever opinions Ruſſell might hold, or whatever views he might ſecretly entertain, his conduct proves him to have been an able and faithful ſervant to his country. Nor does any one feature in his character or circumſtance in his life, afford us the ſmalleſt room to believe, whatever we may be told by the aſſaſſins of public virtue, that he could ever ſeriouſly intend to betray *that* country, and his truſt as an Engliſh admiral, by carrying over the fleet under his command to the dethroned monarch, while a papiſt and penſioner of Lewis XIV. The ambitious and intriguing genius of Marlborough, his original treachery to James, and his long and intimate correſpondence with his former maſter and benefactor whom he had betrayed, leave us more in the dark with reſpect to his ultimate deſigns. He appears to have had neither moral nor political principles, when they interfered with his avarice or ambition; and it ſeems certain that, from zeal for the ſervice of James, or an averſion againſt William, he defeated, by his ſecret intelligence, an expedition againſt Breſt, under admiral Ruſſell, in 1694. *Stuart Papers*, May, 1694. James II. 1694.

ed

LETTER XVII. A.D. 1692. May 19.

ed a junction with the Dutch squadron, he directed his course for La Hogue. Off that place, about four o'clock in the morning, he discovered Tourville; who, though sensible of the superiority of the enemy, resolved to hazard an engagement, in order to vindicate himself from an aspersion that had been thrown on his courage by M. de Seignelay, minister for the marine. He accordingly bore down in the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, upon Russell, in the Britannia, of one hundred guns. The rest of the French fleet fell in with the English line, and a hot engagement ensued, in which the Dutch had little share. The two admirals plied their guns very warmly from eleven till one; when Tourville, being disabled, was towed off by his boats, and five fresh ships, with a furious fire, covered his retreat [31].

A FOG, which fell about four in the afternoon, preserved the French fleet from instant and inevitable ruin. But they were not suffered to escape without loss. Four of Tourville's ships, which had been set on fire during the engagement, blew up during the night. Next morning the chace was renewed; and the Royal Sun, the Admirable, another first rate, and the Conqueror, an eighty-gun ship, were destroyed near Cherburg. The day following, thirteen line of battle ships, which had sought safety by running ashore at La Hogue, were burnt, together with twenty transports, laden with military stores [32]. James, to the utter confusion of his hopes, beheld from the shore this destruction, which it was not in his power to prevent, and which totally broke the force of the French navy [33].

31. Russell's *Letter to Nottingham*, June 2, 1692. 32. Ibid.

33. "Ah!"—exclaimed the unfortunate monarch, with a mixture of admiration and regret, at seeing the French fleet set on fire,—"none but my brave English tars could have performed so gallant an action!" Dalrymple's *Mem.*

PART II. A.D. 1692. THE adherents of James in England, however, were not discouraged. They considered the failure of the invasion as an accident, which might soon be repaired, and continued to disturb the government with their intrigues. These intrigues, the perpetual opposition between the Whigs and Tories, and the necessity of large supplies to support the war on the A.D. 1693. continent, gave rise to two great and growing evils, intimately connected with each other; the national debt and the corruption of the house of commons. At the same time time that William, by a pernicious funding system, was loading the state with immense sums, borrowed to maintain his continental connections, he was liberal of the public money to his servants at home; and employed it with little ceremony, to bring over his enemies, or to procure a majority in parliament.

IN order to put a stop to this corruption, so far as it affected the representatives of the people, a bill was brought in for Triennial Parliaments; and William A.D. 1694. found himself under the necessity of passing it, or of losing the vote of supply, with which it was made to go hand in hand. He was beside afraid to exert the influence of the crown, in defeating a bill of so much consequence to the nation; more especially as the queen, whose death he was sensible would weaken his authority, was then indisposed [34]. A similar bill, as we have already seen, was extorted from Charles I. but repealed, soon after the Restoration, in compliment to Charles II. To this imprudent compliance may be ascribed the principal disorders during that and the subsequent reign. A house of commons, elected every three years, would have formed such a

34. Burnet, book v.

strong

strong bulwark to liberty, as must have baffled and discouraged all the attacks of arbitrary power. The more honest and independent part of the community, therefore, zealously promoted the present law; which, while it continued in force, certainly contributed to stem the tide of corruption, and to produce a more fair representation of the people. How it came to be repealed, I shall afterward have occasion to notice.

LETTER XVII. A.D. 1694.

THE queen, as William had apprehended, died soon after the passing of this important bill. Mary was a woman of great equality of temper, and of no small share of understanding. She was a sincere protestant; and by her exemplary piety, the purity of her manners, and even by her notable industry, she contributed much to reform the court, which had been extremely licentious during the two former reigns. Nor was she destitute of political address; which, in the absence of her husband, she employed in such a manner as to conciliate the affections of all parties. But here her praise must cease. She possessed few shining virtues, or elegant accomplishments. And the character of an obedient wife, so justly her due, is shaded by the reproach of being a cruel sister, and an unfeeling daughter; who entered the palace of her father, soon after he had been forced to leave it, and ascended his throne with as much gaiety as if he had been an enemy to her existence, instead of an indulgent parent, and the fountain of her blood[35]!

WILLIAM appeared to be very much afflicted at the death of the queen; and, however little regard he might have for her engaging person, from the cold-

35. Burnet, book, iv. v.

PART II. A. D. 1694. nefs of his own difpofition, his grief was poffibly fincere. Her open and agreeable deportment, and her natural alliance to the throne, had chiefly contributed to reconcile the minds of men to his government. The Whigs could forgive her every breach of filial duty, on account of her adherence to the proteftant religion and the principles of liberty; and even the Tories were ready to afcribe her feeming want of fympathy with her father's misfortunes, to an obfequious fubmiffion to the will of her hufband. With her all natural title to the Englifh crown expired, on the part of William; and although his authority, fupported by the act of Settlement, was too firmly eftablifhed to be immediately fhaken, the hopes of the Jacobites began daily to rife, and confpiraces were formed againft his

A. D. 1695. life, as the only bar to the reftoration of James, and the fucceffion of his fon, the titular prince of Wales, whofe legitimacy feemed now to be put beyond all queftion, by the queen's undifputed delivery of a daughter[36].

THE moft dangerous of thefe confpiracies, conducted by Sir George Barclay and other violent Jacobites, was intimately connected with a plan for an infurrection in England, and an invafion from France.

A. D. 1696. The duke of Berwick was fent over to forward the infurrection. But the Englifh nobility and gentry in the intereft of James, though warmly difpofed to ferve him, very prudently refufed to take arms until a body of troops fhould be landed to fupport them. Finding them obftinate in this refolution, and being informed

36. As the princefs of Denmark had long held a fecret correfpondence with her father, and obtained his pardon for her undutiful conduct, it was prefumed fhe would not oppofe his reftoration, by pleading her parliamentary title to the fucceffion.

of

of the conſpiracy againſt the life of William, the duke immediately returned to France, that he might not be confounded with men, whoſe atrocious purpoſe had no connection with his commiſſion; though he thought himſelf bound in honour, he tells us, not to diſſuade them from it[37]!

In the mean time the troops, intended for the invaſion, were aſſembled at Dunkirk and Calais. Four hundred tranſports were collected, and eighteen men of war were ready to eſcort them. James himſelf was on his way to join the army, when he was met by the duke of Berwick, after his return from England. Though he could not blame the caution of his friends, he was not a little mortified at it, as Lewis XIV. had poſitively declared, that he would not allow his troops to embark before an inſurrection had actually taken place. The diſconſolate prince, however, proceeded to Calais, in anxious expectation of the iſſue of the aſſaſſination plot; from which, though undertaken without his authority, he hoped to derive advantage in his preſent diſtreſſing circumſtances. Like a drowning mariner, he caught at a ſlippery rope, and reſted his deſperate fortune on the point of a ruffian's ſword. But his ſuſpence and embarraſſment were ſoon removed. The plot was diſcovered; ſeveral of the conſpirators were ſeized and executed, and all England was thrown into a ferment. The current of public opinion was ſuddenly changed. Even many of thoſe, who hated the perſon, and diſliked the government of William, were ſhocked at the idea of a barbarous attempt upon his life; and his throne, which ſeemed

37. *Mem.* vol. i.

PART II. A.D. 1696.

lately to ſhake to its baſe, was now more firmly eſtabliſhed than ever [38].

ADMIRAL Ruſſell, on the firſt certain intelligence of the projected invaſion, was ordered to repair to the Downs. Having hoiſted his flag on board the Victory, he collected with incredible diligence and diſpatch, a fleet of fifty ſail, with which he appeared before Calais: and although he found it impracticable to deſtroy the French ſhipping, or greatly to injure the town, he ſpread terror all along the coaſt, and convinced the enemy of the neceſſity of attending to their own ſafety, inſtead of ambitiouſly attempting to invade their neighbours [39]. Thus were all the hopes of James and his adherents blaſted, by what the French termed his MALIGNANT STAR. Covered with ſhame and confuſion, and overwhelmed with diſappointment and deſpair, he returned to St. Germains; where, laying aſide all thoughts of an earthly crown, he turned his views ſolely toward heaven. Lewis XIV. who was an accompliſhed gentleman as well as a magnificent king, treated the dethroned monarch, on every occaſion, with much tenderneſs and reſpect. But ſome of the French courtiers were leſs polite than their ſovereign. "There," ſaid one of them, in the hearing of James, "is a ſimpleton, who has loſt three "kingdoms for a maſs [40]!"

38. Burnet, book v. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1696. Amid all theſe conſpiracies, againſt his perſon and government, William diſcovered a cool courage, which does great honour to his memory. On ſome occaſions he diſplayed even a generous magnanimity that claims admiration. He not only pardoned but continued in employment ſome of his principal ſervants, after making them ſenſible that he was acquainted with their intrigues!—And he was rewarded with that fidelity which ſuch heroic confidence deſerved.

39. Id. ibid. 40. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiv.

WE

WE ſhall ſee, in the courſe of events, Lewis himſelf obliged to abandon the cauſe of this royal refugee, and to acknowledge the right of William to his dominions. LETTER XVII. A. D. 1696.

LETTER XVIII.

The Military Tranſactions on the Continent, from the Beginning of the War that followed the League of AUGSBURG, *to the Peace of* RYSWICK, *in* 1697, *and of* CARLOWITZ, *in* 1699.

I HAVE already had occaſion to obſerve, that Lewis XIV. threatened by the powerful confederacy formed in conſequence of the league of Augſburg, made himſelf maſter of Philipſburg and other places, in 1688, as a prelude to more vigorous exertions; and that the alliance againſt him was completed, by the acceſſion of England, in 1689. I have alſo had occaſion to notice, that the emperor Leopold, the ſuppoſed head of this alliance, having ſubdued the malcontents in Hungary, had got his ſon, Joſeph, pro-proclaimed king of that country, and the Hungarian crown declared hereditary in the houſe of Auſtria. LETTER XVIII. A. D. 1688.

THAT revolution was not accompliſhed without the ſhedding of much blood, both in the field and on the ſcaffold. Leopold, the protector of Chriſtendom, and the aſſertor of the rights of nations, was himſelf a tyrant and a perſecutor. He was ſtill engaged in hoſtilities with the Turks; but the taking of Belgrade by aſſault, joined to his other ſucceſſes, enabled him to take part in the war againſt Lewis, whoſe vainglorious ambition had alarmed all Europe. Beſide a

PART II. A.D. 1688. jealoufy for the liberties of Germany, Leopold had other motives for entering into this war. He was fenfible, that the *Moft Chriftian King*, while perfecuting his own proteftant fubjects, for not conforming to the chruch of Rome, had fupported the Proteftants in Hurgary! that he had incited them to take arms in defence of thofe heretical opinions, which he abhorred! and that, by his intrigues, he had even encouraged the Infidels to invade the *Holy Roman Empire*, the great bulwark of the Chriftian world!

The French monarch, trufting to his great refources, prepared himfelf to repel the ftorm which his ambition had raifed, with a vigour proportioned to the occafion. He affembled two armies in Flan-
A.D. 1689. ders: he oppofed a third to the Spaniards in Catalonia; and in order to form a barrier on the fide of Germany, he laid wafte the Palatinate with fire and fword, after having made himfelf mafter of its principal towns. This barbarous policy, which has been juftly and feverely blamed, can never be held in too much deteftation. Men, women and children, were
February. driven in a fevere feafon, out of their habitations, to wander about the fields, and to perifh of hunger and cold; while they beheld their houfes reduced to afhes, their goods feized, and their poffeffions pillaged by the rapacious foldiery. The terrible execution began at Manheim, the feat of the electors; where not only the palaces of thofe princes were rafed to the ground, but their very tombs opened in fearch of hidden treafures, and their venerable duft fcattered in the air [1]. Twice, during the reign of Lewis XIV. was this fine country defolated by the arms of France; but the flames lighted by Turenne, however dreadful, were

1. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1689.

only

only like ſo many torches, compared with the preſent frightful conflagration, which filled all Europe with horror. LETTER XVIII. A.D. 1689.

Nor did that cruel expedient, ſo diſgraceful to the character of the French monarch, anſwer the end propoſed: it ſerved only to increaſe the number and the rancour of his enemies. Though Lewis had near four hundred thouſand men in the field, he found himſelf inferior to the allies. Eleven thouſand Engliſh troops, commanded by the earl of Marlborough, augmented the army of Spain and the United Provinces, in Flanders, to near fifty thouſand men. The Germanic body, united under the emperor, aſſembled three formidable armies, beſide that oppoſed to the Turks; namely, one under the elector of Bavaria, who commanded on the Upper Rhine; another, and the main army, led by the duke of Lorrain, who acted on the Middle Rhine; and a third, conducted by the elector of Brandenburg, appeared on the Lower Rhine.

The duke of Lorrain, paſſing the Rhine at Coblentz, and the Moſelle at Alcken, purſued his march through the foreſt of Saon, and laid ſiege to Mentz; while the elector of Brandenburg, with his own troops, and thoſe of Weſtphalia, inveſted Bonne. Both places were taken: and the French, under the mareſchal d'Humiers, though determined to remain on the defenſive in Flanders, were brought to an engagement by the prince of Waldec, and worſted at Walcourt [2]. Nor was Lewis more ſucceſsful in Catalonia, where his troops were driven back to their own frontiers by the duke de Villa Hermoſa; who,

2. Id. Ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1689. pursuing mareschal de Noailles, laid Rousillon under contribution, and obliged him to abandon Campredon, which he had taken in the beginning of the campaign [3]. The same bad fortune that seemed to persecute France, fell with still greater weight upon the Grand Seignior, her ally. The prince of Baden, who commanded for the emperor on the side of Hungary, defeated the Turks in three successive engagements. He forced their entrenchments on the banks of the Morava, he routed them at Nissa, and he obtained a complete victory at Widin [4]; so that the most Christian king, who had expected a great diversion of the imperial forces by the Infidels, now found himself obliged to rely on his own arms.

A.D. 1690. THE enemies of France were still more numerous during the next campaign, but her generals were better chosen. The duke of Savoy having joined the allies, it became necessary for Lewis to send an army into Italy. This army was committed to the mareschal de Catinat, who united the fire of a hero to the coolness of a philosopher. Bred to the law, in which he would have excelled, he had quitted that profession in disgust, and risen to the highest military rank, by the mere force of merit. He every where shewed himself superior to his antagonist Victor Amadeus, though reputed an able general, and completely defeated him at Staffarada. In consquence of this victory, Saluces fell into the hands of the French; Suza, which commanded the passes between Dauphiné and Piedmont, was taken; and all Savoy, except the fortress of Montmelian, was soon reduced [5].

3. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom i. 4. Barre, tom. x. 5. Voltaire. *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1699.

THE

• THE fame fuccefs attended the arms of France on the frontiers of Spain, where all Catalonia was thrown into confufion; and Luxembourg, who united the conduct of Turenne to the intuitive genius of Condé, gave a new turn to her affairs in Flanders. Being fuddenly joined by the mareichal de Boufflers, he advanced againft the Dutch and Spaniards, under the prince of Waldec: and an obftinate battle enfued, at Fleurus, near Charleroy; where, by a bold and decifive motion of his cavalry, he gained a complete but bloody victory. Covered from the view of the enemy by a rifing ground, the French horfe fell upon the flank of the Dutch, while engaged in front with the infantry. The Dutch cavalry were broken, and fled at the firft fhock; but their infantry ftood firm, and performed fignal feats of valour. Seven thoufand were killed on the fpot, before they gave way; and Luxemburg declared, that the Spanifh infantry did not behave with more gallantry at Rocroy[6].

NOTHING memorable happened during the campaign on the French fide of Germany. The inaction of the allies in that quarter may partly be afcribed to the death of the duke of Lorrain. This gallant prince, whofe high fpirit induced him to abandon his dominons, and become a foldier of fortune, rather than fubmit to the hard conditions offered him by Lewis XIV. at the peace of Nimeguen, had greatly diftingifhed himfelf on many occafions, and was become a confummate general. His injuries feem always to have been uppermoft in his mind, except while engaged againft the Infidels, when religion was predominant. He threatened to enter Lorrain at the head of forty thoufand men before the end of the

6. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1699.

PART II. A. D. 1690.

summer; a circumstance which appears to have given rise to the report of his having been poisoned by the emissaries of France. His letter to the emperor Leopold, his brother-in-law, written on his death-bed, strongly marks his character. "I am going," says he, "to give an account, to a more powerful Master, "of a life which I have devoted chiefly to your service. Remember that I leave behind me a wife, "who is nearly related to you; children, who have "no inheritance but my sword, and subjects who are "in oppression[7]!"

THE Turks were no less successful this campaign than the French. Exasperated at the loss of their armies in Hungary and the neighbouring provinces, they had demanded the head of the grand vizier, which was granted them; and the new vizier, being a man of an active disposition, as well as skilful in the military art, made great preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. Nor did he neglect the arts of policy. The Vaivode of Transilvania having died lately, he prevailed with the Grand Seignior to declare Tekeli, the chief of the Hungarian malcontents, his successor. This revolution, and the successes of Tekeli, obliged the prince of Baden, who commanded the imperial army in Hungary, to march into Transilvania. During his absence the Turks took Nissa, Widin, and even Belgrade; which was carried by assault, after a bloody siege, in consequence of the blowing up of the powder magazine. All Upper Hungary, beyond the Tibiscus, fell into their hands; and they took winter-quarters in that country, with every prospect of im-

7. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

proving

proving their advantages, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit [8].

AMID the misfortunes of the allies during this campaign, we ought not to omit the defeat of the combined fleet of England and Holland, by the French; an event which, in ſpeaking of the affairs of Great Britain, I have already hinted at, but found no opportunity to deſcribe. The ſcene of action lay off Beachy-head; where the fleet of France, under Tourville, was with diffidence attacked by two maritime powers, who had long contended ſingly for the ſovereignty of the ocean. So great, indeed, had the exertions of Lewis been in raiſing his navy, that the allies were inferior to Tourville, both in the ſize and the number of their ſhips; but their ſkill in ſeamanſhip, and the memory of their former exploits, it was hoped would make up for their deficiency in force. It happened, however, otherwiſe.

AFTER the hoſtile fleets had continued five days in ſight of each other, the earl of Torrington, who commanded in chief for the allies, bore down upon the enemy; in conſequence of expreſs orders to hazard a battle, which he had hitherto carefully avoided. The Dutch ſquadron, which formed the van of the combined fleet, was engaged with the van of the French about eight o'clock in the morning; and the blue diviſion of the Engliſh, before nine, attacked the rear of the enemy with great vigour. But the red diviſion, which formed the centre, and which Torrington conducted in perſon, did not come into action, till an hour later; and even then at ſuch a diſtance from the Dutch, as to permit their whole diviſion to

8. Barre, tom. x. Heiſs, lib. iii.

PART II. A.D. 1690. be ſurrounded by the French. Though the Dutch fought with great courage, moſt of their ſhips were diſabled; three of the line were ſunk in the engagement, and three burnt in the flight. Beſide many brave ſeamen, two of their admirals, and ſeveral captains were ſlain. The Engliſh, who were in the action, ſuffered extremely. The French ſhips were well manned, their fire was regular and rapid, and their management of the ſails during the action ſkilful and expeditious. Their ignorance of the courſe of the tides, and their purſuing in a line, only could have prevented them from totally breaking the naval force of England and Holland [9]. In this unfortunate battle, the allies loſt eight ſhips of the line, and ſeveral others were rendered utterly unfit for ſervice [10]. But it was attended with no farther conſequences of any importance.

A. D. 1691. THE progreſs of the French, during the next campaign, was not equal to what might have been expected from their victories in the foregoing; nor was the ſucceſs of the allies anſwerable to their hopes. Though Lewis in perſon took Mons, in the beginning of April, in defiance of king William, who had placed himſelf at the head of the confederate army, the ſummer was ſpent in a ſtate of inactivity, and paſſed without any memorable event on the ſide of Flanders. On the frontiers of Germany the war languiſhed; and although the French were ſucceſsful in Catalonia, they had no reaſon, on the whole, to boaſt of their good fortune. The conqueſts of Catinat in Italy were checked by prince Eugene and the young duke of Schomberg; who repulſed him at Coni, in Piedmont, and obliged him ſoon after to repaſs the

9. Torrington's *Letter to Caermarthen*, July 1, 1690. Kennet. Ralph. Burnet. 10. Ibid.

LETTER XVIII.

A.D. 1691.

Po. Meanwhile the Turks, on the ſide of Hungary, loſt all the advantages which they had acquired, in the preceding campaign. They were totally routed, by the prince of Baden, at Salankeman, with the loſs of twenty thouſand men; and the grand vizier, the ſeraſkier, and moſt of their principal officers being ſlain, the remains of their army found it neceſſary to ſeek ſhelter beyond the Saave[11].

A.D. 1692.

WILLIAM and Lewis, the following ſpring, ſet out on the ſame day to join their reſpective armies, and the higheſt hopes were formed on both ſides. Lewis ſat ſuddenly down before Namur, with an army of forty-five thouſand men; while Luxemburg, with another army, covered the ſiege of that important place, which is ſituated at the conflux of the Sambre and the Maeſe. The town was ſtrong, the citadel was deemed impregnable: the garriſon conſiſted of ten thouſand men, under the prince of Barbaſon; and the famous Coehorn defended in perſon a new fort, which bore his name, while Vauban directed the attack. The eyes of all Europe were turned toward Namur, where two great kings contended for glory and conqueſt. William advanced to the relief of the place, with an army of eighty thouſand men; but the ſtrong poſition of Luxemburg, on the banks of the Mehaign, which ran between the two armies, and the unexpected rains, which had not only ſwelled the ſtream, but formed into moraſſes the adjoining fields, deterred him from hazarding an engagement. Meanwhile Lewis, having taken the town, preſſed with vigour the ſiege of the new fort; and Coehorn, after an obſtinate defence, was obliged to capitulate. The fate of the citadel was ſoon

11. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1691. Barre, tom. x.

PART II. A.D. 1692.

after decided, and Lewis returned in triumph to Versailles [12].

In order to recover that reputation, which he had loſt by not ſuccouring Namur, William endeavoured to ſurpriſe the French army, under Luxemburg, at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly made by the Britiſh troops, in columns. They preſſed with amazing intrepidity upon the right wing of the enemy, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of ground; broke their line, took their artillery, and, if properly ſupported, would have gained an undiſputed victory. But William and his Dutch generals not only failed to ſecond the efforts of thoſe brave battalions with freſh troops, but to charge the enemy's left wing, when their right was thrown into diſorder [13]. In conſequence of theſe miſtakes, the battle was totally loſt. The Engliſh, neglected by their allies, and left to ſuſtain alone the whole ſhock of the houſhold troops of France, led by Luxemburg, and encouraged by the preſence of the princes of the blood, were at length obliged to give ground, and almoſt all cut in pieces. Nor was the loſs of the French leſs conſiderable. Partial as the engagement proved, above ten thouſand men fell on both ſides, in the ſpace of two hours; and the veteran Luxemburg declared, that he was never in ſo hot an action [14]. William's military character ſuffered greatly by this battle, and the hatred of the Engliſh againſt the Dutch became violent in the higheſt degree [15]. "Let us ſee what ſport theſe "Engliſh bull-dogs will make!" was the cool ſar-

12. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1691. Barre, tom. x.
13. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 14. Id. ibid.
15. Burnet, book v.

caſtical

caſtical reply of count Solmes, when ordered to advance to the ſupport of the Britiſh troops. LETTER XVIII. A.D. 1692.

The allies were leſs unfortunate in other quarters. The French, by exerting their whole force in Flanders, left their own country expoſed. The army under the mareſchal de Catinat, being too weak to reſiſt the duke of Savoy, that prince entered Dauphiné, and ſufficiently revenged himſelf for the inſults which he had received in his own dominions, during the two preceding campaigns. He ravaged the country, he reduced the fortified towns, and ſickneſs only prevented him from acquiring very important conqueſts[16]. Nothing of any conſequence happened on the Rhine, though the French had rather there the advantage. The affairs of the allies went better on the borders of Hungary. Great Waradin, after a long blockade, was taken by the Imperialiſts; and thoſe diſorders, which uſually attend the misfortunes of the Turks, involved the court of Conſtantinople in blood.

Elated with his paſt ſucceſſes, Lewis XIV. opened the next campaign with great pomp in Flanders. He went thither in perſon, attended by his whole court, and appeared at the head of an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men. Nothing leſs was expected from ſuch a force than the entire conqueſt of that fine country. But Lewis, influenced by motives which have never yet been ſufficiently explained, ſuddenly diſappointed the hopes of his friends, and quieted the fears of his enemies. He ſent part of his army into Germany, under the Dauphin; and leaving to Luxemburg the conduct of the military A.D. 1693.

16. *Theat. Europe*, 1692. Hainault, ſub an.

opera-

PART II.
A. D. 1693.

operations in Flanders, returned to Verfailles with his court[17].

THIS unexpected meafure has been afcribed to the ftrong pofition of the allies at Parks, near Louvain, where king William had judicioufly encamped his army, in order to cover Bruffels, and by which he is fuppofed to have difconcerted the defigns of the French monarch. But William, who had only fifty thoufand men, would not have dared, as the duke of Berwick very juftly obferves, to wait the approach of fo fuperior a force as that under Lewis; or, if he had, he muft have been overwhelmed; and Bruffels, Liege, and even Maeftricht muft have fallen[18]. This, adds the duke, makes the king's departure, and the divifion of his army, the more unaccountable. A flight indifpofition, and the anxiety of Madame de Maintenon (his favourite miftrefs, who accompanied him) for the health and fafety of her royal lover, probably faved Flanders; though Lewis himfelf, in a letter to the marefchal de Noailles, afcribes his fudden change of meafures to a defire of peace, and a conviction that it could only be procured by vigorous exertions in Germany[19].

THE duke of Luxemburg, with the main body of the French army, after having attempted in vain, by a variety of movements, by taking Huy and threatening Liege, to bring the allies to an engagement, refolved to attack them in their camp, when they were weakened by detachments. He accordingly quitted his poft at Hellicheim, fuddenly croffed the Jaar, and advanced toward them by forced marches.

17. Burnet, book v. Duke of Berwick, vol. i. 18. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 19. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. i.

His

His van was in fight before they were advifed of his approach; but as it was then almoft evening, William might have retired in the night with fafety, had he not depended upon the ftrength of his pofition and the bravery of his troops. The river Geete bounded his right, and ran winding along his rear. On the left, and in the front of the left was the brook of Landen. A thick hedge covered part of the front of his right wing. The village of Neerwinden, with entrenchments before it, was fituated between the left end of the hedge and his centre, the right joining the Geete. The village of Romfdorff ftood farther advanced, oppofed to the front of the left wing, and the entrenchments before it ftretched to the brook of Landen. A line of entrenchments extended themfelves behind the two villages, and behind thefe the army of the allies was formed. Their whole front was covered with one hundred pieces of cannon; which, by being advantageoufly placed on an eminence, commanded all the approaches to their line [20].

The duke of Luxemburg, on the evening of his arrival, diflodged a detachment of the allies, pofted in the village of Landen, which ftood advanced before the brook of that name. Between this village and that of Romfdorff he placed forty battalions in the night: he formed his centre of eight lines of horfe and foot intermixed; and his horfe, on the left wing, were ordered to extend themfelves to the Geete, oppofing their line to the thick hedge which covered the enemy's right. About five in the morning this arrangement was completed: a cannonading took place on both fides, and the duke of Berwick, with two other lieutenant-generals, Rubantel and Montchevreuil,

20. *Mem. de Feuquiers.* Berwick's *Mem.* ubi fup.

were

PART II. A.D. 1693.

were ordered to begin the attack; Rubantel, on the entrenchments to the right of Neerwinden, with two brigades; Montchevreuil, on the left, with the same number; and the duke of Berwick on the village, with other two brigades. The village projected out beyond the plain; so that the duke of Berwick, who was in the centre, attacked first. He forced the allies to abandon their post: he drove them from hedge to hedge, as far as the plain, at the entrance of which he formed again in order of battle. But the troops destined to attack on his right and left, instead of following their instructions, thought they would be less exposed to the enemy's fire by throwing themselves into the village; in consequence of which attempt, they got at once into his rear; and the allies, perceiving this blunder, re-entered Neerwinden by the right and left, now entirely unguarded. A terrible conflict ensued. The four brigades under Rubantel and Montchevreuil were thrown into confusion, and driven out of the village; and the duke of Berwick, attacked on all sides, and unsupported, was taken prisoner [21].

LUXEMBURG, however, was not intimidated by this disaster. He made a second attempt upon Neerwinden, and succeeded. His troops were again expelled, and a third time took possession of the village. The battle now raged with fury on both sides. William twice led the English infantry up to his entrenchments, which the enemy endeavoured to force; but nothing could resist the impetuosity of the French. Their centre being reinforced by the right wing, opened a way for their cavalry into the very lines of the allies. They flanked the English, they broke the German

21. Id. ibid.

and

and Spanish horse; and William, when bravely advancing to the charge, with part of his left wing, had the mortification to see his right driven headlong into the Geete. All was now tumult and confusion. Terror and flight every where prevailed; and beside those who sunk in the general slaughter, many were drowned in the river. Twelve thousand of the allies lay dead on the field; two thousand were made prisoners; and sixty pieces of cannon, and eight mortars, with about fourscore standards, and colours, fell into the hands of the French[22]. Yet Luxemburg, after all, gained little but glory by the victory at Neerwinden. Eight thousand of his best troops were slain in battle, and his army was so much weakened by the number of the wounded, that he could take no advantage of the consternation of the enemy. During six weeks he continued in a state of inaction, and Charleroy was the only conquest he afterward made, before the close of the campaign[23].

On the side of Germany, the French stained the glory of their arms by acts of cruelty and barbarity. Chamilly having taken Heidelberg by storm, put the soldiers and citizens promiscuously to the sword; and when the massacre ended, rapine began. The houses were burnt, the churches pillaged, the inhabitants stript naked, and the persons of the women exposed to violation, without respect to age or condition[24]. This shocking tragedy excepted, nothing memorable happened in that quarter. The Germans, sensible of their inferiority, studiously avoided a battle; and the Dauphin, after crossing the Necker, and dispersing a vain manifesto, containing humiliating terms of

22. Burnet. Ralph. P. Daniel. Duke of Berwick. Hainault. Voltaire. 23. Ibid. 24. Barre. Heiss. Voltaire.

PART II. A.D. 1693. peace, returned without laurels to Verſailles[25]. The war in Hungary produced no ſignal event. In Catalonia, the mareſchal de Noailles took Roſes in ſight of the Spaniſh army, and would have acquired more important conqueſts, had he not been obliged to ſend a detachment into Italy[26].

THE military operations, on the ſide of Piedmont, after having languiſhed throughout the ſummer, were terminated by a deciſive action, toward the end of the campaign. The duke of Savoy, at the head of the confederates, had inveſted Pignerol. Meanwhile the mareſchal de Catinat, being reinforced with ten thouſand men, deſcended from the mountains, and ſeemed to threaten Turin. Alarmed for the ſafety of his capital, the duke raiſed the ſiege of Pignerol, and advanced to the ſmall river Ciſola, where it paſſes by Marſaglia. Reſolving to engage Catinat, he ſent away his heavy baggage. The two armies were ſoon in ſight of each other, and the French general did not decline the combat. The imperial and Piedmonteſe cavalry, commanded by the duke in perſon, compoſed the right wing of the confederates; their infantry, conſiſting of the troops of Savoy, and thoſe in the pay of Great Britain, were ſtationed in the centre, under the famous prince Eugene; and the Spaniards, led by their native officers, formed the left wing. The French acted in an unuſual manner. They received, as they advanced, the fire of the Spaniards; then fired, charged them with fixed bayonets, and afterward ſword in hand. The whole left wing of the allied army was inſtantly broken, and thrown in confuſion on the centre, which ſuſtained the battle with great obſtinacy. The centre, however,

25. Ibid. 26. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. i.

was

LETTER XVIII. A.D. 1693.

was at length obliged to give way, and a complete victory remained to the French. Befide their cannon and light baggage, with a great number of colours and ftandards, the allies loft eight thoufand men in the action [27]. Among many perfons of diftinction, who fell or were taken, the young duke of Schomberg was mortally wounded and made prifoner.

NOR were the French lefs fuccefsful in maritime affairs. Though the fhock which their navy had fuftained off La Hogue, the foregoing fummer, rendered them unable to face the combined fleet of England and Holland, they made up in diligence what they wanted in force. The Englifh nation had, with reafon, complained of the little attention paid to commerce ever fince the beginning of the war. Though powerful fleets were fent to fea, and fome advantages gained on that element, trade had fuffered much from the frigates and privateers of the enemy. The merchants, therefore, refolved to keep their richeft fhips in their feveral harbours, till a fufficient convoy could be obtained: and fo great was the negligence of government, that many of them had been, for eighteen months, ready to fail [28]! Their number accumulated daily. At length the whole combined fleet was ordered to conduct, as far as might be requifite, four hundred merchantmen, confifting of Englifh, Dutch, and Hamburghers, bound for the different ports in the Mediterranean, and generally known by the name of the *Smyrna Fleet*. They accordingly put to fea, and proceeded fifty leagues beyond Ufhant; where they left Sir George Rooke, with a fquadron of twenty-three fail, to convoy the traders to the Straits.

27. *Mem. de Feuquieres. Europe Hift.* tom. ii. a l'An. 1693.
28. Burnet, book v.

PART II.
A. D. 1693.

MEANWHILE the French fleet, under Tourville, had taken ftation in the bay of Lagos, and lay in that place till Rooke and the multitude of rich veffels under his conduct appeared. Deceived by falfe intelligence concerning the ftrength of the enemy, the Englifh admiral prepared to engage; but fuddenly perceiving his miftake, he ftood away with an eafy fail, ordering the merchantmen to difperfe and fhift for themfelves. The French came up with the fternmoft fhips, and took three Dutch men of war. About fourfcore merchantmen were taken or deftroyed in the different ports of Spain, into which they had run, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. The object of the voyage was totally defeated, and the lofs in fhips and cargo amounted to twelve hundred thoufand pounds [29].

BUT Lewis XIV. amid all his victories, had the mortification to fee his fubjects languifhing in mifery and want. France was afflicted with a dreadful famine, partly occafioned by unfavourable feafons, partly by the war, which had not left hands fufficient to cultivate the ground; and notwithftanding all the provident attention of her miniftry in bringing fupplies of corn from abroad, in regulating the price and furnifhing the markets, many of the peafants perifhed of hunger, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and diftrefs [30].

WILLIAM, apprifed of this diftrefs, and ftill thirfting for revenge, rejected all advances toward peace, and haftened his military preparations. He was accordingly enabled to appear early in Flanders at the

29 Burchet's *Naval Hift.* Burnet. Ralph. 30. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv.

head

LETTER XVIII. A.D. 1694.

head of a great and finely appointed army; but the superior genius of Luxemburg, with an army much inferior, prevented him from gaining any confiderable advantage. The retaking of Huy was the only conqueft he made during the campaign. On the Upper Rhine, in Hungary, in Piedmont, no event of any confequence happened [31]. On the fide of Spain, the war was carried on with more vigour. The marefchal de Noailles, having forced the paffage of the river Ter, in Catalonia, defeated the Spanifh army entrenched on the farther bank. Gironne and Oftalric fell fucceffively into his hands; and he would have made himfelf mafter of Barcelona, had not admiral Ruffell, with the combined fleet, arrived in the neighbouring feas, and obliged the French fleet to take fhelter in Toulon [32]. While Tourville and d'Eftrees were blocked up in that harbour, the French fea-ports upon the Channel were bombarded, though with no great effect [33].

The glory and greatnefs of Lewis XIV. were now not only at their height, but verging toward a decline. His refources were exhaufted: his minifter Louvois, who knew fo well how to employ them, was dead; and Luxemburg, the laft of thofe great generals, who had made France the terror of Europe, died before the opening of next campaign. Lewis determined, therefore, to act merely on the defenfive in Flanders, where the allies had affembled an amazing force. After fome hefitation, he placed marefchal de Villeroy at the head of the principal army, and intrufted the fecond to Boufflers. Namur on the right, and Dunkirk on the left, comprehended be-

31. Daniel. Burnet. Ralph. Duke of Berwick. 32. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. i. 33. Burnet. Ralph. Burchet. Voltaire.

PART II. A.D. 1695.

tween them the extent of country to be defended by the French. Tournay on the Scheld, and Ypres, near the Lys, formed part of the line. Boufflers was ordered to aſſemble his army near Mons, to cover Namur; and Villeroy poſted himſelf between the Scheld and the Lys, to protect Tournay, Ypres, and Dunkirk [34].

KING WILLIAM, who took the field in the beginning of May, found himſelf at the head of an army much ſuperior to that of France. In order to amuſe the enemy, and conceal his real deſign upon Namur, he made ſome artful movements, which diſtracted the attention of Villeroy, and rendered him uncertain where the ſtorm would firſt fall. At length having completed his preparations, and formed his army into three bodies, he ordered the elector of Bavaria, with one diviſion, to inveſt Namur. He himſelf, at the head of the main body, was encamped behind the Mehaign, and in a condition to paſs that river, and ſuſtain the ſiege, if neceſſary; while the prince of Vaudemont, with an army of obſervation, lay between the Lys and the Mandel, to cover thoſe places in Flanders which were moſt expoſed [35]. Namur, into which mareſchal Boufflers had thrown himſelf with ſeven regiments of dragoons, in order to reinforce the garriſon, made a vigorous defence: but it was at laſt obliged to ſurrender; and the citadel, which Villeroy attempted in vain to relieve, was alſo taken [36]. Lewis XIV. in order to wipe off this diſgrace, and to retaliate on the confederates for the attacks made by the Engliſh on the coaſt of France, commanded Villeroy to bombard Bruſſels; and the prince of Vaude-

34. *Mem. du Fouquieres*. 35. Kane's *Campaigns*. *Mem. de Feuquieres*. 36. Id. ibid.

mont

mont had the mortification to see great part of that city laid in ruins, without being able either to prevent or avenge the wanton destruction [37]. LETTER XVIII. A. D. 1695.

The military reputation of William, which had suffered greatly during the three foregoing campains, was much raised by the retaking of Namur. But the allies had little success in other quarters. No event of any importance happened on the side of Italy, on the Upper Rhine, or in Catalonia. On the side of Hungary, where peace had been expected by the confederates, the accession of Mustapha II. to the Ottoman throne, gave a new turn to affairs. Possessed of more vigour than his predecessor, Achmet II. Mustapha resolved to command his troops in person. He accordingly took the field; passed the Danube; stormed Lippa; seized Itul; and falling suddenly on a body of Imperialists, under Veterani, he killed that officer, dispersed his forces, and closed with success a compaign which promised nothing but misfortune to the Turks [38].

The next campaign produced no signal event any where. France was exhausted by her great exertions; and, the king of Spain and the emperor excepted, all parties seemed heartily tired of the war. Lewis XIV. A. D. 1696. by his intrigues, had detached the duke of Savoy from the confederacy: he tampered with the other powers: and a congress for a general peace, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden, was at last opened, at the castle of Ryswick, between Delft and the Hague. The taking of Barcelona, by the duke of Vendome, induced the king of Spain to listen to the pro-

37. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.
38. Barre. Heiss.

PART II. A.D 1697.

posals of France; and the emperor, after reproaching his allies with deserting him, found it necessary to accede to the treaty.

The concessions made by Lewis XIV. were very considerable; but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession were left in full force. Though the renunciation of all claim to that succession, conformable to the Pyrenean treaty, had been one great object of the war, no mention was made of it in the articles of peace. It was stipulated, That the French monarch should acknowledge William to be lawful sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and make no farther attempt to disturb him in the possession of his kingdoms[39]; that the duchy of Luxemburg, the county of Chiney, Charleroy, Mons, Aeth, Coutray, and all places united to France by the chambers of Metz and Brisac, as well as those taken in Catalonia, during the war, should be restored to Spain; that Friburg, Brisgaw, and Philipsburg, should be given up to the emperor; and that the duchies of Lorrain and Bar should be rendered back to their native prince[40].

39. Lewis, we are told, discovered much reluctance in submitting to this article; and that he might not seem altogether to desert the dethroned monarch, proposed that his son should succeed to the crown of England, after the death of William; that William, with little hesitation, agreed to the request; that he even solemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and to obtain another act, declaring the pretended prince of Wales his successor. But James, it is added, rejected the offer; protesting That should he himself be capable of consenting to such a disgraceful proposal in favour of his son, he might justly be reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. *Depôt des Affaires Etrange à Versailles.* James II. 1697. Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* vol. ii.

40. Dumont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. viii.

SCARCE

A.D. 1697.

SCARCE had the emperor acceded to the treaty of Ryſwick, which re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in the North and Weſt of Europe, when he received intelligence of the total defeat of the Turks, by his arms, at Zenta; a ſmall village on the weſtern bank of the Theyſſe, in the kingdom of Hungary. The celebrated prince Eugene of Savoy had ſucceeded the elector of Saxony in the command of the Imperialiſts, and to his conſummate abilities they were indebted for their extraordinary ſucceſs. Muſtapha II. commanded his army in perſon. The battle was of ſhort duration, but uncommonly bloody. About twenty thouſand Turks were left dead on the field; and ten thouſand were drowned in the river, in endeavouring to avoid the fury of the ſword. The magnificent pavilion of the ſultan, the ſtores, ammunition, proviſions, and all the artillery and baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of prince Eugene. The grand vizier was killed, the ſeal of the Ottoman empire taken, and the Aga of the janizaries, and twenty-ſeven baſhaws, were found among the ſlain[41].

THIS deciſive victory, though followed by no ſtriking conſequences, by reaſon of the declining ſeaſon, broke the ſpirit of the Turks; and the haughty Muſtapha, after attempting in vain, during another campaign, to recover the laurels he had loſt at Zenta, agreed to liſten to propoſals of peace. The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers accordingly met at Carlowitz, and ſigned a treaty; in which it was ſtipulated, that all Hungary, on this ſide the Saave, with Tranſylvania and Sclavonia, ſhould be ceded to the houſe of Auſtria; that the Ruſſians ſhould remain in poſſeſ-

41. Barre, *Hiſt. d' Allemagne*, tom. x. *Life of Prince Eugene*.

ſion

PART II. A.D. 1699. ſeſſion of Azoph, on the Palus Mæotis, which had been taken by their young ſovereign Peter I. afterward ſtyled the Great; that Caminieç ſhould be reſtored to the Poles; and that the Venetians, who Jan. 26. had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the latter years of the war, ſhould be gratified with all the Morea, or ancient Peloponneſus, and with ſeveral places in Dalmatia [42].

THUS, my dear Philip, was general tranquillity again reſtored to Europe. But the ſeeds of future diſcord, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to notice, were already ſown in every corner of Chriſtendom. It was but a deluſive calm before a more violent ſtorm. It will however afford us leiſure to carry forward the Progreſs of Society.

42. Dumont *Corp. Diplom.* tom. viii. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ruſſia*, vol. i.

TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

The Progress of SOCIETY *in* EUROPE *from the middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century.*

ABOUT the middle of the sixteenth century, as we have formerly seen [1], Society had attained a very high degree of perfection in Italy. Soon after that æra, the Italian states began to decline, and the other European nations, then comparatively barbarous, to advance towards refinement. Among these, the French took the lead: for although the Spanish nobility during the reign of Charles V. and those of his immediate successors, were perhaps the most polished and enlightened set of men on this side of the Alps, the great body of the nation then was, as it still continues, sunk in ignorance, superstition, and barbarism. And the secluded condition of the women, in both Spain and Italy, was a farther barrier against true politeness. That grand obstruction to elegance and pleasure was effectually removed, in the intermediate kingdom, by the gallant Francis I. Anne, of Brittany, wife of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. had introduced the custom of ladies appearing publicly at the French court: Francis encouraged it; and by familiarizing the intercourse of the sexes, in many brilliant assemblies and gay circles, threw over the manners of the nation those bewitching graces that have so long attracted the admiration of Europe. LETTER XIX.

BUT this innovation, like most others in civil life, was at first attended with several inconveniences. As

1. Part I. Letter lv.

soon

ſoon as familiarity had worn off that reſepect, approaching to adoration, which had hitherto been paid to the women of rank, the advances of the men became more bold and licentious. No longer afraid of offending, they poured their lawleſs paſſion in the ear of beauty; and female innocence, unaccuſtomed to ſuch ſolicitations, was unable to reſiſt the ſeducing language of love, when breathed from the glowing lips of youth and manhood. Not only frequent intrigues, but a groſs ſenſuality was the conſequence; and the court of France, during half a century, was little better than a common brothel. Catharine of Medicis encouraged this ſenſuality, and employed it as the engine for perfecting her ſyſtem of Machiavelian policy. By the attractions of her fair attendants, ſhe governed the leaders of the Hugonot faction, or by their inſidious careſſes obtained the ſecrets of her enemies, in order to work their ruin; to bring them before a venal tribunal, or to take them off by the more dark and common inſtruments of her ambition, poiſon and the ſtiletto. Murders were hatched in the arms of love, and maſſacre planned in the cabinet of pleaſure.

On the acceſſion of Henry IV. and the ceſſation of the religious wars, gallantry began to aſſume a milder form. The reign of ſenſuality continued, but it was a ſenſuality mingled with ſentiment, and connected with heroiſm. Henry himſelf, though habitually licentious, was often in love, and ſometimes fooliſhly intoxicated with that paſſion, but he was always a king and a ſoldier. His courtiers, in like manner, were frequently diſſolute, but never effeminate. The ſame beauty that ſerved to ſolace the warrior after his toils, contributed alſo to inſpire him with new courage. Chivalry ſeemed to revive in the train of libertiniſm;

tiniſm;

tinifm; and the ladies acquiring more knowledge and experience, from their more early and frequent intercourfe with our fex, became more fparing of their LETTER XIX.

Gallantry was formed into a fyftem during the reign of Lewis XIII. and love was analyfed with all the nicety of metaphyfics. The faculties of the two fexes were whetted, and their manners polifhed, by combating each other. Woman was placed beyond the reach of man, without the help of grates or bars. In the bofom of fociety, in the circle of amufement, and even in the clofet of affignation, fhe fet him at defiance; and while fhe liftened to his fond rerequeft, fhe was deaf to his fuit, unlefs when prefented under the fanction of virtue, and recommended by fentiment.

This tender fentiment, fo much talked of in France, and fo little felt, was fublimed to an enthufiaftic paffion, during the regency of Anne of Auftria, and the civil wars that disfigured the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIV. Then all things were conducted by women. The ufual time for deliberation was midnight, and a lady in bed, or on a fopha, was the foul of the council. There fhe determined to fight, to negociate, to embroil, or to accommodate matters with the court; and as love prefided over all thofe confultations, fecret averfions or attachments frequently prepared the way for the greateft events. A revolution in the heart of a woman of fafhion, almoft always announced a change in public affairs [2].

The

2. Every one had her department and her dominion. Madame de Montbazon, fair and fhewy, governed the duke of Beaufort; Madame de

PART II.

THE ladies often appeared openly at the head of factions, adorned with the ensigns of their party; visited the troops, and presided at councils of war, while their lovers spoke as seriously of an assignation, as of the issue of a campaign. Hence the celebrated verses of the philosophical duke de Rochefoucault to the duchess of Longueville:

Pour meriter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'auroit fait aux dieux!

"To merit that heart, and to please those bright eyes,
"I made war upon kings, I'd have warr'd 'gainst the skies!"

Every thing connected with gallantry, how insignificant soever in itself, was considered as a matter of importance. The duke de Bellegard, the declared lover of the queen-regent, in taking leave of her majesty to take upon him the command of an army, begged as a particular favour that she would touch the hilt of his sword. And M. de Chatillon, who was enamoured of Mademoiselle de Guerchi, wore one of her garters tied round his arm in battle[3].

BUT this serious gallantry, which Anne of Austria had brought with her from Spain, and which was so

de Longueville, the duke of Rochefoucault; Madame de Chatillon, Nemours and Condé; Madamoiselle de Chevreuse, the Coadjutor, afterward Cardinal de Retz; Mademoiselle de Saujon, devout and tender, the duke of Orleans; and the duchess of Bouillon, her husband. At the same time Madame de Chevreuse, lively and warm, resigned herself to her lovers from taste, and to politics occasionally; and the princess Palatine, in turns the friend and the enemy of the great Condé, by means of her genius more than her beauty, subjected all whom she desired to please, or whom she had either a whim or an interest to persuade. *Essai sur le Charactere, les Mœurs, et l'Esprit des Femmes dans les differens Siecles*, par M. Thomas de l'Academie Françoise.

3. *Mem. de Mad. Motteville.*

5 con-

contrary to the genius of the French nation, vaniſhed with the other remains of barbariſm on the approach of the bright days of Lewis XIV. when the glory of France was at its height, and the French language literature, arts, and manners were perfected. Eaſe was aſſociated with elegance, taſte with faſhion, and grace with freedom. Love ſpoke once more the language of nature, while decency drew a veil over ſenſuality. Men and women became reaſonable beings, and the intercourſe between the ſexes a ſchool of urbanity; where a mutual deſire to pleaſe gave ſmoothneſs to the behaviour, and mutual eſteem, delicacy to the mind and ſenſibility to the heart[4].

Nor was the refinement in manners during the reign of Lewis XIV. confined merely to the intercourſe between the ſexes, or to thoſe habits of general politeneſs produced by a more rational ſyſtem of gallantry. Duels, as we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, were long permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and ſometimes authoriſed by the magiſtrate, for terminating doubtful queſtions. But ſingle combats, in reſentment of private or perſonal injuries, did not become common till the reign of Francis I. who, in vindication of his character as a gentleman, ſent a cartel of defiance to his rival, the emperor Charles V. The example was contagious.

4. That gallantry which, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety, and which characteriſes the preſent French manners, was not introduced till the minority of Lewis XV. "Then," ſays M. Thomas, a new court and new ideas changed all things. A bolder gallantry became the faſhion. Shame was mutually communicated, and mutually pardoned; and levity joining itſelf to exceſs, formed a corruption at the ſame time deep and frivolous, which laughed at every thing, that it might bluſh at nothing." *Eſſai ſur le Caractere, &c. des Femmes dans differents Siecles*, p. 190.

Thence-

Thenceforth every one thought himſelf entitled to draw his ſword, and to call on his adverſary to make reparation for any affront or injury that ſeemed to touch his honour. The introduction of ſuch an opinion among men of fierce courage, lofty ſentiments, and rude manners, was productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. A diſdainful look, a diſreſpectful word, or even a haughty ſtride, was ſufficient to provoke a challenge. And much of the beſt blood in Chriſtendom, in defiance of the laws, was wantonly ſpilt in theſe frivolous conteſts; which, toward the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, were ſcarcely leſs deſtructive than war itſelf. But the practice of duelling, though alike pernicious and abſurd, has been followed by ſome beneficial effects. It has made men more reſpectable in their behaviour to each other, leſs oſtentatious in converſation, and more tender of living characters, but eſpecially of female reputation; and the gentleneſs of manners introduced by this reſtraint, at the ſame time that it has contributed to ſocial happineſs, has rendered duels themſelves leſs frequent, by removing the cauſes of offence.

THE progreſs of arts and literature, in France, kept pace with the progreſs of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I. who is deſervedly ſtyled the *Father of the French Muſes*, a better taſte in compoſition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montaigne, whoſe native humour and good ſenſe will ever make them be ranked among the greateſt writers of their nation, gave a beginning to the French proſe; and French verſe was gradually poliſhed by Marot, Ronſard, and Malherbe, while proſe received new graces from Voiture and Balzac. At length Corneille produced the *Cid* and Paſcal the *Provincial Letters*. The former

is

is ftill juftly admired as a great effort of poetical genius, both with regard to ftyle and matter; and the latter continues to be univerfally regarded as a model of profe compofition, as well as of delicate railery and found reafoning.

The *Obfervations* of the French Academy on the *Cid*, are a ftriking proof of the rapid progrefs of tafte in modern times, as the *Cinna* of the fame author is of the early perfection of the French ftage. Thefe obfervations were made at the defire of cardinal Richelieu, who had efteblifhed, in 1635, that *Academy of Sciences and Belle Lettres*; and who, not fatisfied with being reputed, what he certainly was, the moft penetrating ftatefman in Europe, was alfo ambitious of being thought what he was not, the moft elegant poet in France. He was more jealous of the fame of Corneille than of the power of the houfe of Auftria, and affairs ftood ftill while he was concerting the criticifm on the *Cid*[5].

That criticifm contributed greatly to the improvement of polite literature in France. Corneille was immediately followed by Moliere, Racine, Quinaut, Boileau, La Fontaine, and all the fine writers who fhed luftre over the early part of the reign of Lewis XIV. The language of the tender paffions, little underftoood even by Corneille, was fuccefsfully copied by madame de la Fayette in her ingenious novels, and afterwards no lefs happily introduced on the ftage by Racine; efpecially in his two pathetic tragedies, *Phedra* and *Andromache*. The glaring figures of difcourfe, the pointed antithefis, the gingle of words, and every fpecies of falfe wit and falfe refinement, which prevailed durirg the former reign,

5. Fontenelle, *Mem. de l'Acad. Franc.*

were baniſhed with the romantic gallantry that had introduced them : and compoſition, like manners, returned in appearance to the ſimplicity of nature, adorned but not diſguiſed by art. This elegant ſimplicity is more particularly to be found in the tragedies of Racine, the fables of La Fontaine, and the comedies of Moliere, whoſe wonderful talent for ridiculing whatever is affected or incongruous in behaviour, as well as of expoſing vice and folly, contributed not a little to that happy change which now took place in the manners of the French nation.

The ſame good taſte extended itſelf to all the fine arts. Several magnificent edifices were raiſed in the moſt correct ſtyle of architecture ; ſculpture was perfected by Girardon, of who ſeſkillt he mauſoleum of cardinal Richelieu is a laſting monument ; Pouſſin equalled Raphael in ſome branches of painting, while Rubens and Vandyke diſplayed the glories of the Flemiſh ſchool ; and Lulli ſet to excellent muſic the ſimple and paſſionate operas of Quinaut. France, and the neighbouring provinces, toward the latter part of the ſeventeenth century, were what Italy had been a century before, the favourite abodes of claſſical elegance.

The progreſs of taſte and politeneſs was leſs rapid in the North of Europe, during the period under review. Germany and the adjoining countries, from the league of Smalkald to the peace of Weſtphalia, were a perpetual ſcene either of religious wars or religious diſputes. But theſe diſputes tended to enlighten the human mind, and thoſe wars to invigorate the human character, as well as to perfect the military ſcience ; an advantage in itſelf by no means contemptible, as that

the ſcience is not only neceſſary to protect ingenuity againſt force, but intimately connected with ſeveral others conducive to the happineſs of mankind. All the powers of the ſoul were rouſed, and all the emotions of the heart called forth. Courage ceaſed to be an enthuſiaſtic energy or rapacious impulſe: it became a ſteady effort in vindication of the deareſt intereſts of ſociety. No longer the ſlaves of ſuperſtition, of blind belief, or blind opinion, determined and intelligent men firmly aſſerted their civil and religious rights. And Germany produced conſummate generals, ſound politicians, deep divines, and even acute philoſophers, before ſhe made any advances in the Belles Lettres. The reaſon is obvious.

THE revival of learning in Europe had prepared the minds of men for receiving the doctrines of the Reformation, as ſoon as they were promulgated; and inſtead of being ſtartled when the daring hand of Luther drew aſide, or rather rent the veil that covered eſtabliſhed errors, the genius of the age, which had encouraged the attempt, applauded its ſucceſs. Even before the appearance of Luther, Eraſmus had confuted, with great eloquence and force of reaſoning, ſeveral tenets of the Romiſh church (though it does not appear that he had any intention of overturning the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of religion), and expoſed others, as well as the learning of the ſchools, with much wit and pleaſantry, to all the ſcorn of ridicule. Luther himſelf, though a ſtranger to elegance or taſte in compoſition, zealouſly promoted the ſtudy of ancient literature, as neceſſary to a right underſtanding of the ſcriptures, which he held up as the ſtandard of religious truth. A knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages became common among the reformers; and though in general little capable of reliſhing the beauties of the claſſics, they

PART II. infenbly acquired, by perufing them, a clearnefs of reafoning and a freedom of thinking, which not only enabled them to triumph over their antagonifts, but to inveftigate with accuracy feveral moral and political fubjects.

These, inftead of polite literature, employed the thoughts of thofe, who were not altogether immerfed in theological controverfy; and the names of Grotius and Puffendorf are ftill mentioned with refpect. They delineated, with no fmall degree of exactnefs, the great outlines of the human character, and the laws of civil fociety: it was referved for later writers, for Smith and Fergufon, Montefquieu and Helvetius, to complete the picture. Their principles they derived partly from general reafoning, and partly from the political fituation of Europe in that age. In Germany and the United Provinces, Proteftants and Catholics were every where blended; and the fatal experience of the deftructive effects of perfecution, not any profound inveftigation, feems firft to have fuggefted the idea of mutual toleration, the moft important principle eftablifhed by the political and controverfial writers of the feventeenth century. This fubject demands particular attention.

In the prefent age it may feem incredible, and more efpecially in England, where the idea of toleration is become familiar, and where its beneficial effects are felt, that men fhould ever have been perfecuted for their fpeculative opinions; or that a method of terminating their differences, fo agreeable to the mild and charitable fpirit of Chriftianity, did not immediately occur to the contending parties. But in order to be able to judge properly of this matter, we muft transport

transport ourselves back to the sixteenth century, when the sacred rights of conscience and of private judgment, obvious as they now appear, were little understood; and when not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itself in the sense now affixed to it, was unknown among Christians. The cause of such singularity deserves to be traced. LETTER XIX.

AMONG the ancient Heathens, whose deities were all local and tutelary, diversity of sentiments concerning the object or rites of religious worship seems to have been no source of animosity; because the acknowledging of veneration to be due to any one God, did not imply a denial of the existence or power of any other God. Nor were the modes and rites of worship established in one country, incompatible with those of other nations. Therefore the errors in their theological system were of such a nature as to be consistent with concord; and notwithstanding the amazing number of their divinities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a sociable and tolerating spirit subsisted almost universally in the Pagan world. But when the preachers of the Gospel declared ONE Supreme Being to be the sole object of religious veneration, and prescribed the form of worship most acceptable to him, whosoever admitted the truth of it, consequently held every other mode of religion to be absurd and impious. Hence the zeal of the first converts to the Christian faith, in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they endeavoured to overturn all other forms of worship. That ardour, and not, as commonly supposed, their religious system, drew upon them the indignation of the civil power. At length, as formerly observed, Christianity ascended the throne of the Cæsars, and the Cross was exalted in

PART II.

the Capitol[6]. But although numbers, imitating the example of the court (which confined its favours chiefly to the followers of the new religion), crowded into the church, many ſtill adhered to the ancient worſhip. Enraged at ſuch obſtinacy, the miniſters of Jeſus forgot ſo far the nature of their own miſſion, and the means which they ought to have employed for making proſelytes, that they armed the imperial power againſt thoſe unhappy men; and as they could not perſuade, they endeavoured to compel them to believe[7].

In the mean time, controverſies, concerning articles of faith, multiplied among the Chriſtians themſelves; and the ſame compulſive meaſures, the ſame puniſhments, and the ſame threatenings, which had been directed againſt infidels and idolaters, were alſo made uſe of againſt heretics, or thoſe who differed from the eſtabliſhed church in matters of worſhip or doctrine. Every zealous diſputant endeavoured to intereſt the civil magiſtrate in his cauſe, and ſeveral employed, in their turn, the ſecular arm to cruſh or extirpate their opponents[8]. In order to terminate theſe diſſenſions, which every where deſolated the Chriſtian world, as well as to exalt their own conſequence, the biſhops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding finally on all points of controverſy: and, bold as the pretenſion was, they ſo far impoſed on the credulity of mankind, as to get it recogniſed. Perhaps a latent ſenſe of the neceſſity of univerſal freedom, or of ſome fixed ſtandard, in matters of religion, might aſſiſt the deceit. But however that may have been, it is certain that the remedy was

6. Part I. Lett. i. 7. Mosheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. i. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book xi. 8. Id. ibid.

worſe

worſe than the diſeaſe. If wars and bloodſhed were the too common effects of the diverſity of opinions ariſing from different interpretations of ſcripture, and of hereditary princes ſometimes embracing one opinion, ſometimes another, a total extinction of knowledge and inquiry, and of every noble virtue, was the conſequence of the papal ſupremacy. It was held not only a reſiſting of truth, but an act of rebellion againſt the ſacred authority of that unerring tribunal, to deny any doctrine to which it had given the ſanction of its approbation; and the ſecular power, of which, by various arts, the popes had acquired the abſolute direction in every country, was inſtantly exerted to avenge both crimes. A deſpotiſm more complete was eſtabliſhed than that of the Romiſh dominion, and more debaſing, as we have ſeen, than any ſpecies of civil tyranny.

To this ſpiritual deſpotiſm had Europe been ſubjected for ſeveral centuries, before any one ventured to call in queſtion the authority on which it was founded. Even after the æra of the Reformation, a right to extirpat *error* by *force* was univerſally allowed to be the privilege of thoſe who poſſeſſed the knowledge of TRUTH; and as every ſect of Chriſtians believed that was their peculiar gift, they all claimed and exerciſed, as far as they were able, the prerogatives which it was ſuppoſed to convey. The Roman Catholics, as their ſyſtem reſted on the deciſions of an infallible judge, never doubted but truth was on their ſide, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators, who had riſen up againſt it. The Proteſtants, no leſs confident that that doctrine was well founded, required, with equal zeal, the princes of their party, to cruſh ſuch as preſumed to diſcredit or oppoſe it; and Luther,

PART II.

Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed Church in their reſpective countries, inflicted, as far as tney had power and opportunity, the ſame puniſhments that were denounced againſt their own diſciples by the church of Rome, on ſuch as called in queſtion any article in their ſeveral creeds [9]. Nor was it till toward the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, when the lights of philoſophy had diſpelled the miſts of prejudice, that toleration was admitted under its preſent form; firſt into the United Provinces, and then into England. For although, by the Pacification of Paſſau, and the Receſs of Augſburg, the Lutherans and Catholics were mutually allowed the free exerciſe of their religion in Germany, the followers of Calvin yet remained without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced againſt heretics. And after the treaty of Munſter, concluded in more liberal times, had put the Calviniſts on the ſame footing with the Lutherans, the former ſanguinary laws ſtill continued in force againſt other ſects. But that treaty, which reſtored peace and tranquillity to the north of Europe, introduced order into the empire, and prepared the way for refinement, proved alſo the means of enlarging the ſentiments of men, by affording them leiſure to cultivate their minds; and Germany, alike free from civil and eccleſiaſtical tyranny, beheld, in proceſs of time, taſte and genius flouriſh in a climate deemed peculiar to lettered induſtry and theological dulneſs, and her fame in arts and ſciences as great as her renown in arms.

Even before this æra of public proſperity, the lamp of liberal ſcience had illuminated Germany, on ſubjects the moſt remote from religious controverſy. Co-

9. Robertſon, ubi ſup.

pernicus

pernicus had discovered the true theory of the heavens, which was afterward perfected by our immortal Newton; that the sun, by far the greatest body, is the centre of our planetary system, dispensing light and heat, and communicating circular motion to the other planets, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, which move around him. And Kepler had ascertained the true figure of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of those planets; that each planet moves in an ellipsis, which has one of its foci in the centre of the sun; that the higher planets not only move in greater circles, but also more slowly than those that are nearer; so that, on a double account, they are longer in performing their revolutions.

Nor was that bold spirit of investigation, which the Reformation had roused, confined to the countries that had renounced the pope's supremacy, and the slavish doctrines of the Romish church. It had reached even Italy; where Galileo, by the invention, or at least the improvement, of the telescope, confirmed the system of Copernicus. He discovered the mountains in the moon, a planet attendant on the earth; the satellites of Jupiter; the phases of Venus; the spots in the sun, and its rotation, or turning on its own axis. But he was not suffered to unveil the mysteries of the heavens with impunity. Superstition took alarm at seeing her empire invaded. Galileo was cited before the Inquisition, committed to prison, and commanded solemnly to abjure his *heresies* and *absurdities*; in regard to which, the following decree, an eternal disgrace to the brightest age of literature in modern Italy, was passed in 1633. "To say that "the sun is in the centre, and without local motion, "is a proposition absurd and false in sound philo-

"sophy,

"ſophy, and even heretical, being expreſsly con-
"trary to the Holy Scripture; and to ſay that the "earth is not placed in the centre of the univerſe, "nor immovable, but that it has ſo much as a diur- "nal motion, is alſo a propoſition falſe and abſurd "in ſound philoſophy, as well as erroneous in the "faith!"

The influence of the Reformation on government and manners, was no leſs conſpicuous than on philoſophy. While the ſovereigns of France and Spain roſe into abſolute power, at the expence of their unhappy ſubjects, the people in every Proteſtant ſtate acquired new privileges. Vice was depreſſed by the regular exertions of law, when the ſanctuaries of the church were aboliſhed, and the clergy themſelves made amenable to puniſhment. This happy influence extended itſelf even to the church of Rome. The deſire of equalling the reformers in thoſe talents which had procured them reſpect; the neceſſity of acquiring the knowledge requiſite for defending their own tenets, or refuting the arguments of their opponents, together with the emulation natural between two rival churches, engaged the popiſh clergy to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of uſeful ſcience; which they cultivated with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs, that they gradually grew as eminent in literature, as they were formerly remarkable for ignorance. And the ſame principle, proceeding from the ſame ſource, hath occaſioned a change no leſs ſalutary in their manners.

Various cauſes, which I have had occaſion to enumerate in the courſe of my narration, had concurred in producing great licentiouſneſs, and even a

total diſſolution of manners among the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics. Luther and his adherents began their attacks upon the church with ſuch vehement invectives againſt theſe, that, in order to remove the ſcandal, and ſilence thoſe declamations, more decency of conduct was found neceſſary. And the principal reformers were ſo eminent, not only for the purity but even auſterity of their manners, and had acquired ſuch reputation among the people on that account, that the popiſh clergy muſt have ſoon loſt all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform, in ſome meaſure, to the ſtandard held up to them. They were beſide ſenſible, that all their actions fell under the ſevere inſpection of the Proteſtants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to obſerve, and to diſplay the ſmalleſt vice or impropriety in their conduct, with all the cruelty of revenge and all the exultation of triumph. Hence they became not only cautious to avoid ſuch irregularities as muſt give offence, but ſtudious to acquire the virtues that might merit praiſe.

Nor has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Romiſh church: it has extended to the ſovereign pontiffs themſelves. Violations of decorum, and even treſpaſſes againſt morality, which paſſed without cenſure in thoſe ages, when neither the power of the popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character had any bounds; when there was no hoſtile eye to obſerve the errors in their conduct, nor any adverſary zealous to inveigh againſt them, would now be liable to the ſevereſt animadverſion, and excite general indignation and horror. The popes, aware of this, inſtead of rivalling the courts of temporal princes in gaiety, or ſurpaſſing them in licentiouſneſs, have ſtudied to aſſume manners

PART II. ners more ſuitable to their eccleſiaſtical character; and by their humanity, their love of literature, their moderation, and even their piety, have made ſome atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predeceſſors.

The Head of the church of Rome, however, not willing to reſt what remained of his ſpiritual empire, merely on the virtues and talents of its ſecular members, inſtituted a new monaſtic order, namely that of the Jesuits; who, inſtead of being confined to the ſilence and ſolitude of the cloiſter, like other monks, were taught to conſider themſelves as formed for action; as choſen ſoldiers who, under the command of a general, were bound to exert themſelves continually in the ſervice of Chriſt, and of the pope, his vicar on earth. To give more vigour and concert to their efforts, in oppoſing the enemies of the Holy See, and in extending its dominion, this General or head of the order was inveſted with the moſt deſpotic authority over its members; and that they might have full leiſure for ſuch ſervice, they were exempted from all monaſtic obſervances. They were required to attend to the tranſactions of the great world, to ſtudy the diſpoſitions of perſons in power, and to cultivate their friendſhip [10].

In conſequence of theſe primary inſtructions, which infuſed a ſpirit of intrigue into the whole fraternity, the Jeſuits conſidered the education of youth as their peculiar province: they aimed at being ſpiritual guides and confeſſors: they preached frequently, in order to attract the notice of the people; and they ſet out as miſſionaries, with a view to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the inſtitution, as well as the ſingularity of its objects, procured the ſociety

10. *Compte Rendeu*, par M. de Monclar. D'Alembert, *ſur la Deſtruct. des Jeſuits*.

many

many admirers and patrons. The Generals and other officers had the addrefs to avail themfelves of every circumftance in its favour; and, in a fhort time, the number, as well as the influence of its members, was very confiderable. Both increafed wonderfully; and before the beginning of the feventeenth century, only fixty years after the inftitution of the order, the Jefuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every catholic country in Europe. They had become the confeffors of moft of its monarchs; a function of no fmall importance in any reign, but under a weak prince, fuperior even to that of minifter. They were the fpiritual guides of almoft every perfon eminent for rank or power, and they poffeffed the higheft degree of confidence and intereft with the papal court, as the moft zealous and able affertors of its dominion.

LETTER XIX.

The advantages which an active and enterprifing body of priefts might derive from thefe circumftances, are obvious. As they formed the minds of men in youth, they retained an afcendant over them in their more advanced years. They poffeffed at different periods, the direction of the moft confiderable courts in Europe; they mingled in all public affairs, and took part in every intrigue and revolution. Together with the power, the wealth of the order increafed. The Jefuits acquired ample poffeffions in every popifh kingdom; and under pretext of promoting the fuccefs of their miffions, and of facilitating the fupport of their miffionaries, they obtained a fpecial licence from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert [11]. In confequence of this per-

11. *Hift. des Jefuits*, tom. iv.

mif-

PART II. miffion, they engaged in an extenfive and lucrative commerce, both in the Eaft and Weft Indies, and they opened warehoufes in different parts of Europe, where they vended their commodities. Not fatisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial focieties, and aimed at obtaining fettlements. They accordingly acquired poffeffion of a large and fertile province io South America, well known by the name of Paraguay, and reigned as fovereigns over three or four hundred thoufand fubjects.

UNHAPPILY for mankind, the vaft influence which the Jefuits acquired by all thefe different means, was often exerted for the moft pernicious purpofes. Every Jefuit was taught to regard the intereft of the order as his principal object, to which all other confiderations were to be facrificed; and as it was for the honour and advantage of the fociety, that its members fhould poffefs an afcendant over perfons of rank and power, the Jefuits, in order to acquire and preferve fuch afcendant, were led to propagate a fyftem of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodating itfelf to the paffions of men, juftifies their vices, tolerates their imperfections, and authorifes almoft every action that the moft audacious or crafty politician could wifh to commit [12].

IN like manner, as the profperity of the order was intimately connected with the prefervation of the papal authority, the Jefuits, influenced by the fame principle of *attachment* to the *interefts* of their *fociety*, which may ferve as a key to the genius of their policy, have been the moft zealous patrons of thofe doctrines which tend

12. M. de Monclar. ubi fup.

to exalt ecclefiaftical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome a jurifdiction as extenfive and abfolute as was claimed by the moft prefumptuous pontiffs during the dark ages: they have contended for the entire independence of ecclefiaftics of the civil magiftrate; and they have publifhed fuch tenets concerning the duty of oppofing princes, who were enemies to the catholic faith, as countenance the moft atrocious crimes, and tend to diffolve all the ties which connect fubjects with their rulers [13]. LETTER XIX.

As the order derived both reputation and authority, from the zeal with which it ftood forth in defence of the Romifh church, againft the attacks of the champions of the Reformation, its members, proud of this diftinction, have confidered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progrefs of the Proteftants. They have made ufe of every art, and employed every weapon againft the reformed religion: they have fet themfelves in oppofition to every gentle and tolerating meafure in its favour; and they have inceffantly ftirred up againft its followers all the rage of ecclefiaftical and civil perfecution. But the Jefuits have at length felt the lafh of that perfecution, which they ftimulated with fuch unfeeling rigour; and, as we fhall afterward have occafion to fee, with a feverity which humanity muft lament, notwithftanding their intolerant fpirit.

While Paul III. was inftituting the order of Jefuits, and Italy exulting in her fuperiority in arts and letters, England, already feparated from the Holy See,

13. Id. ibid.

and, like Germany, agitated by theological diſputes, was groaning under the civil and religious tyranny of Henry VIII. This prince was a lover of letters, which he cultivated himſelf, and no leſs fond of the ſociety of women than his friend and rival Francis I. but his controverſies with the court of Rome, and the ſanguinary meaſures which he purſued in his domeſtic policy, threw a cloud over the manners and the ſtudies of the nation, which the barbarities of his daughter Mary rendered yet darker, and which was not diſpelled till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. Then the Muſe, always the firſt in the train of literature, encouraged by the change in the manners, which became more gay, gallant, and ſtately, ventured once more to expand her wings; and Chaucer found a ſucceſſor worthy of himſelf, in the celebrated Spenſer.

THE principal work of this poet is named the *Fairy Queen*. It is of the heroic kind, and was intended as a compliment to queen Elizabeth and her courtiers. But inſtead of employing hiſtorical, or traditional characters, for that purpoſe, like Virgil, the moſt refined flatterer, if not the fineſt poet of antiquity, Spenſer makes uſe of allegorical perſonages; a choice which has contributed to conſign to neglect one of the moſt truly poetical compoſitions that genius ever produced, and which, notwithſtanding the want of unity in the fable, and of probability in the incidents, would otherwiſe have continued to command attention. For the deſcriptions in the *Fairy Queen* are generally bold and ſtriking, or ſoft and captivating; the ſhadowy figures are ſtrongly delineated; the language is nervous and elegant, though ſomewhat obſcure, through an affectation of antiquated phraſes; and the verſification is harmonious and flowing. But the thin allegory is every where

LETTER XIX.

ſeen through; the images are frequently coarſe; and the extravagant manners of chivalry, which the author has faithfully copied, conſpired to render his romantic fictions little intereſting to the claſſical reader, whatever pleaſure they may afford the antiquary; while an abſurd compound of Heathen and Chriſtian mythology complete the diſguſt of the critic. He throws aſide the poem with indignation, conſidered in its whole extent, after making every allowance for its not being finiſhed, as a performance truly Gothic; but he admires particular paſſages: he adores the bewitching fancy of Spenſer, but laments his want of taſte, and loaths his too often filthy and ill-wrought allegories.

Shakspeare, the other luminary of the virgin-reign, and the Father of our Drama, was more happy in his line of compoſition. Though unacquainted, as is generally believed, with the dramatic laws, or with any model worthy of his imitation, he has, by a bold delineation of general nature, and by adopting the ſolemn mythology of the North, witches, fairies, and ghoſts, been able to affect the human mind more ſtrongly than any other poet. By ſtudying only the heart of man, his tragic ſcenes come directly to the heart; and by copying manners, undiſguiſed by faſhion, his comic humour is for ever new. Let us not however conclude that the Three Unities, time, place, and action or plot, dictated by reaſon and Ariſtotle, are unneceſſary to the perfection of a dramatic poem; becauſe Shakſpeare, by the mere ſuperiority of his genius, has been able to pleaſe, both in the cloſet and on the ſtage, without obſerving them.

Theatrical Repreſentation is *perfect* in proportion as it is *natural*, and that the obſervance of the Unities contributes to render it ſo, will be diſputed by no critic who underſtands the principles on which they

PART II.

are founded. A dramatic performance, in which the Unities are obſerved, muſt therefore be beſt calculated for *repreſentation*; and conſequently for obtaining its end, if otherwiſe well conſtructed, by provoking mirth or awakening ſorrow. Even Shakſpeare's ſcenes would have acquired double force, had they proceeded in an unbroken ſucceſſion, from the opening to the cloſe of every act. Then indeed the ſcene may be ſhifted to any diſtance conſiſtent with probability, and any portion of time may elapſe, not deſtructive of the unity of the fable, without impairing the effect of the repreſentation, or diſturbing the dream of reality; for as the modern drama is interrupted four times, which ſeem neceſſary for the relief of the mind, there can be no reaſon for confining the ſcene to the ſame ſpot during the whole piece, or the time exactly to that of the repreſentation, as in the Grecian theatre, where the actors, or at leaſt the chorus, never left the ſtage.

THE reign of James I. was diſtinguiſhed by the labours of many eminent authors, both in proſe and verſe, but moſtly in a bad taſte. That propenſity to falſe wit and ſuperfluous ornament, which we have ſo frequently occaſion to regret in the writings of Shakſpeare, and which ſeems as inſeparably connected with the revival, as ſimplicity is with the origin of letters, infected the whole nation. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, however, Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Raleigh's *Hiſtory of the World*, and the tranſlation of the Bible now in uſe, are ſtriking proofs of the improvement of our language, and of the progreſs of Engliſh proſe.

FAIRFAX's tranſlation of Taſſo, and ſome of the tragic ſcenes of Fletcher excepted, the ſtyle of none of the poets of this reign can be mentioned with en-

tire approbation. Johnſon, though born with a vein of genuine humour, though perfectly acquainted with the ancient claſſics, and poſſeſſed of ſufficient taſte to reliſh their beauties, is a rude mechanical writer. And the poems of Drayton, who was endowed with a fertile genius, with great facility of expreſſion, and a happy deſcriptive talent, are thickly beſpangled with all the ſplendid faults in compoſition.

As an example of Drayton's beſt manner, which is little known, I ſhall give an extract from the ſixth book of his *Barons Wars*.

"Now waxing late, and after all theſe things,
"Unto her chamber is the queen withdrawn 13,
"To whom a choice muſician plays and ſings,
"Repoſing her upon a *ſtate* of lawn,
"In night-attire divinely glittering,
"As the approaching of the chearful dawn;
"Leaning upon the breaſt of Mortimer,
"Whoſe voice more than the muſic pleas'd her ear.

"Where her fair breaſts at liberty are let,
"Where *violet-veins* in *curious branches* flow;
"Where Venus' ſwans and milky doves are ſet
"Upon the ſwelling mounts of *driven ſnow* 14;"

13. Iſabella of France, widow of Edward II. of England.

14. Perhaps the ingenious tracers of *Poetical Imitation* may diſcover a reſemblance between thoſe glowing verſes and two lines in Mr. Hayley's juſtly admired ſonnet, in the *Triumphs of Temper*:

"A boſom, where the *blue meand'ring vein*
"Sheds as ſoft luſtre through the *lucid ſnow*."

And it will not require microſcopic eyes to diſcover whence Mr. Gray caught the idea of the fineſt image in his celebrated hiſtoric Ode, after reading the following lines of Drayton.

"*Berkley*, whoſe fair ſeat hath been famous long,
"Let thy fair *buildings ſkriek* a *deadly ſound*,
"And to the air complain thy grievous wrong,
"*Keeping* the *figure* of king Edward's *wound*."

Barons Wars, book v.

PART II.

"Where Love, whilst he to sport himself doth get,
"Hath lost his course, nor finds which way to go,
"Inclosed in this labyrinth about,
"Where let him wander still, yet ne'er get out.

"Her loose gold hair, O gold thou art too base!
"Were it not sin to name those silk threads hair,
"Declining as to kiss her fairer face?
"But no word's fair enough for thing so fair.
"O what high wond'rous epithet can grace
"Or give due praises to a thing so rare?
"But where the pen fails, pencil cannot shew it,
"Nor can't be known, unless the mind do know it.

"She lays those *fingers* on his manly cheek,
"The gods pure *sceptres*, and the *darts* of *love!*
"Which with a *touch* might *make* a *tyger meek*,
"Or the main Atlas from his place remove;
"So soft, so feeling, delicate, and sleek,
"As Nature *wore* the *lilies* for a *glove!*
As might *beget life* where was never none,
"And *put a spirit* into the *flintiest stone* 15!"

DANIEL, the poetical rival of Drayton, affects to write with more purity; yet he is by no means free from the bad taste of his age, as will appear by a single stanza of his *Civil War*, a poem seemingly written in emulation of the *Barons Wars*.

"O War! begot in pride and luxury,
"The child of Malice and revengeful Hate;
"Thou *impious-good*, and *good-impiety*,
"Thou art the FOUL-*refiner* of a *state!*

15. Who can read these animated stanzas, and not be filled with indignation at the arrogant remark of Warburton?—"Selden did not disdain even to comment *a very waterish poet*, one Michael Drayton!" *Pref.* to his edit. of Shakspeare.

Unequal

"*Unjuſt-juſt* ſcourge of men's iniquity!
"*Sharp eaſer* of corruptions deſperate!
"Is there no means, but that a *ſin-ſick land*
"Muſt be *let blood* by ſuch a boiſterous band?"

DURING the tranquil part of the reign of Charles I. good taſte began to gain ground. Charles himſelf was an excellent judge of literature, a chaſte writer, and a patron of the liberal arts. Vandyke was careſſed at court, and Inigo Jones was encouraged to plan thoſe public edifices, which do ſo much honour to his memory; while Lawes, and other eminent compoſers, in the ſervice of the king, ſet to manly muſic ſome of the fineſt Engliſh verſes. But that ſpirit of faction and fanaticiſm, which ſubverted all law and order, and terminated in the ruin of the church and monarchy, obſtructed the progreſs of letters, and prevented the arts from attaining the height to which they ſeemed faſt haſtening, or the manners from receiving the degree of poliſh, which they muſt ſoon have acquired, in the brilliant aſſemblies and public feſtivals of two perſons of ſuch elegant accompliſhments as the king and queen.

OF the Independents, and other bold fanatics, who roſe on the ruins of the church, and flouriſhed under the Commonwealth, I have formerly had occaſion to ſpeak, in tracing the progreſs of Cromwell's ambition. But one viſionary ſect, by reaſon of its detachment from civil and military affairs, has hitherto eſcaped my notice; namely, the ſingular but reſpectable body of Quakers. The founder of this famous ſect was one George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancaſhire, in 1624, the ſon of a weaver, and bred a ſhoemaker. Being naturally of a melancholy diſpoſition, and having early acquired an enthuſiaſtic turn of mind, he a-

PART II. bandoned his mechanical profeſſion, aud broke off all connections with his friends and family, about the year 1647, when every ignorant fanatic imagined he could invent a new ſyſtem of religion or government; and delivering himſelf wholly up to ſpiritual contemplations, he wandered through the country clothed in a leathern doublet, avoiding all attachments, and frequently paſſed whole days and nights in woods and gloomy caverns, without any other companion but his Bible. At length believing himſelf filled with the ſame divine inſpiration, or *inward light*, which had guided the writers of that ſacred book, he conſidered all external helps as unneceſſary, and thought only of illuminating the breaſts of others, by awakening that *hidden ſpark* of the Divinity which, according to the doctrine of the Myſtics, dwells in the hearts of all men.

Proselytes were eaſily gained in thoſe days of general fanaticiſm, to a doctrine ſo flattering to human pride. Fox accordingly ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded by a number of diſciples of both ſexes; who, all conceiving themſelves actuated by a divine impulſe, ran like Bacchanals through the towns and villages, declaiming againſt every fixed form of worſhip, and affronting the clergy in the very exerciſe of their religious functions. Even the women, forgetting the delicacy and decency befitting their character, bore a part in theſe diſorders; and one female convert, more ſhameleſs than her ſiſters, went *ſtark naked* into Whitehall chapel, during the public ſervice, when Cromwell was preſent, being moved by the ſpirit, ſhe ſaid, to appear as *a ſign to the people*[17].

But of all theſe new fanatics, who were ſometimes thrown into priſons, ſometimes into mad-houſes, the

17. Neil's *Hiſt. of the Puritans.*

moſt

moſt extravagant was James Naylor, a man of talents, who had been an officer in the parliamentary army, and was one of the firſt encouragers of George Fox. Elated with the ſucceſs of his eloquence, in which he excelled all his brethren, and flattered with a reſemblance between his own features and the common pictures of Jeſus Chriſt, he fancied himſelf transformed into the Saviour of the World. He accordingly aſſumed the character of the Meſſiah, and was blaſphemouſly ſtyled by his followers, the *Prince of Peace*, the *only begotten Son of God*, the *faireſt among ten thouſand*[18] !—Conformable to that character, he pretended to heal the ſick, and raiſe the dead. He was miniſtered unto by women; and, in the pride of his heart, he triumphantly entered Briſtol on horſe-back, attended by a croud of his admirers of both ſexes, who, along with ſhrubs and flowers, ſpread their garments before him, exclaiming with a loud voice, "Hoſanna to the Higheſt! holy, holy, holy, Lord "God of Sabaoth[19]." For this impious proceſſion he was committed to priſon by the magiſtrates, and afterward ſent to London, where he was ſeverely puniſhed by the parliament, and by that means reſtored to the right uſe of his underſtanding. But what, in this romantic inſtance of fanatical extravagance chiefly merits attention is, That the heads of the great council of the nation ſpent between ten and twelve days in deliberating, whether they ſhould conſider Naylor as an impoſtor, as a maniac, or as a man divinely inſpired[20]!

Fox and his diſciples, while under the influence of that enthuſiaſtic fury, which, beſide other irregularities, prompted them, on every occaſion, to deliver

18. Id. ibid.
19. *Life and Trial of Naylor.*
20. Thurloe, vol. iv.

PART II. their ſuppoſed inſpirations, without regard to time, place, or circumſtance, were often ſo copiouſly filled with the ſpirit, that, like the prieſteſs of the Delphic God, their whole frame was violently *ſhaken* in pouring it out; a circumſtance which contributed to confirm the belief of their being actuated by a divine impulſe, and procured them the name of *Quakers*, by which they are ſtill known. But theſe wild tranſports ſoon ſubſided, and the Quakers became, as at preſent, a decent and orderly ſet of men, diſtinguiſhed only by the civil and religious peculiarities which continue to characterize the ſect. Thoſe peculiarities are of ſufficient importance to merit our notice in tracing the progreſs of ſociety, and delineating the hiſtory of the human mind.

ALL the peculiarities of the Quakers, both ſpiritual and moral, are the immediate conſequences of their fundamental principle; "That they who endeavour "by ſelf-converſe and contemplation to kindle *that* "*ſpark of heavenly wiſdom which lies concealed in the minds* "*of all men* (and is ſuppoſed to blaze in the breaſt of "every Quaker), will feel a divine glow, behold an "effuſion of light, and hear a cœleſtial voice, pro- "ceeding from the inmoſt receſſes of their ſouls! "leading them to all truth, and aſſuring them of "their union with the Supreme Being [21]." Thus conſecrated in their own imagination, the members of this ſect reject the uſe of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion, by which the public worſhip of other Chriſtians is diſtinguiſhed. They neither obſerve feſtivals, uſe external rites and ceremonies, nor ſuffer religion to be fettered with poſitive inſtitutions; contemptuouſly ſlighting even bap-

21. Barclay's *Apology*, &c.

tiſm

tifm and the Lord's fupper, by all other fects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Chriftianity. They affemble, however, once a week, on the ufual day fet apart for the celebration of divine worfhip; but without any prieft, or public teacher. All the members of the community, male and female, have an equal right to fpeak in their Meetings; for, "Who," fay they, "will prefume to exclude from "the liberty of exhorting the *brethren*, any perfon in "whom Chrift dwells, and by whom he fpeaks?" And the *fifters* have often been found more abundantly filled with the fpirit, and to diftill it moft copioufly; though, on fome occafions, both fexes have been fo loft in felf-contemplation, or deftitute of internal ardour, that not a fingle effufion has been made. All have remained filent, or expreffed their meaning only in groans, fighs, and forrowful looks. On other occafions, many have warmly fpoken at once, as if under the ifluence of an holy fury.

The fame fpiritual pride, and brotherly fenfe of equality, which dictated the religious fyftem of the Quakes, alfo govern their conduct in regard to civil affairs. Difdaining to appear uncovered in the prefence of any human being, or to exprefs adulation or reverence by any word or motion, they fet at naught all the forms of civility, invented by polifhed nations, and all the fervile proftrations demanded by ufurping grandeur, which can have no place among the truly illuminated. In like manner they refufe to confirm their legal teftimony with an oath; a folemnity which they confider as an infult on the integrity of that Spirit of Truth, with which they believe themfelves animated. A fimple notice is all their homage, and a plain affirmative their ftrongeft affeveration.

PART II.

But two of the moſt ſtriking peculiarities of the Quakers yet remain to be noticed. In conſequence of their fundamental principle, which leads to a total detachment from the ſenſes, to a deteſtation of worldly vanities, and of every object that can divert the mind from internal contemplation, they ſtudiouſly avoid all the garniture of dreſs, even to an unneceſſary button or loop; all the pomp of equipage, and all the luxuries of the table. No female ornament, among this ſect, allures the eye, no faſhion or varied colour of attire:—no female accompliſhment, no muſic, no dancing incites to ſenſuality!—though now no longer ſo auſtere as formerly; when beauty in its rudeſt ſtate was conſidered as too attractive, and the pleaſure that nature has wiſely connected with the propagation of the ſpecies, the chaſte endearments of conjugal love were regarded with a degree of horror!

The crowning civil peculiarity of the Quakers is their pacific principle. Unambitious of dominion, and ſhocked at the calamities of war and the diſaſters of hoſtile oppoſition, they carry the mild ſpirit of the goſpel to the dangerous extreme of perſonal *non-reſiſtance*; literally permitting the ſmiter of one cheek to inflict a blow on the other, and tamely yielding to the demands of rapacious violence all that it can crave! How different in this reſpect, from the Millenarians, and other ſanguinary ſectaries, who ſo long deluged England with blood [22]!

22. Even after the reſtoration of Charles II. a ſmall body of the Millenarians made a deſperate effort to diſturb the government. Ruſhing forth completely armed, under a daring fanatic named Venner, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwell, and exclaiming, "No King but Christ!" they triumphantly paraded the ſtreets of London for ſome hours; and before they could be fully maſtered, as they fought not only with courage but concert, many lives were loſt. Burnet, *Hiſt. Own Times*, book ii.

DURING

' During thofe times of faction and fanaticifm, however, appeared many men of vaft abilities. Then the force, and the compafs of our language, were firft fully tried in the public papers of the king and parliament, and in the bold eloquence of the fpeeches of the two parties. Then was roufed, in political and theological controverfy, the vigorous genius of John Milton, which afterward broke forth, with fo much luftre in the poem of *Paradife Loft*, unqueftionably the greateft effort of human imagination. No poet, ancient or modern, is fo fublime in his conceptions as Milton ; and few have ever equalled him in boldnefs of defcription or ftrength of expreffion. Yet let us not, in blind idolatry, allow him the honour, which he feems to arrogate to himfelf, and which has feldom been denied him, of being the inventor of our blank verfe. In the tragedies of Shakfpeare are feveral paffages as harmonious as any in the Paradife Loft, and as elegantly correct : though it muft be admitted, that Milton invented that variety of paufes, which renders Englifh blank verfe peculiarly proper for the heroic fable ; where rhyme, how well conftructed foever, is apt to cloy the ear by its monotony, and weaken the vigour of the verfification, by the neceffity of finding final words of fimilar founds.

The truth of this remark is fully exemplified in the *Davideis* of Cowley ; a work by no means deftitute of merit, in other refpects. In favour of the fmaller poems of this author, which were long much admired for their far-fetched metaphyfical conceits, little can be faid ; unlefs that they are occafionally diftinguifhed by that vigour of thought and expreffion peculiar to the troubled times in which he wrote,

thofe

PART II.

thoſe that immediately preceded and followed the death of Charles I. He thus begins an Ode to liberty:

"Freedom with Virtue takes her ſeat:
"Her proper place, her only ſcene,
"Is in the golden mean.
"She lives not with the Poor, nor with the Great:
"The wings of *thoſe* Neceſſity has clipt,
"And they're in Fortune's Bridwell whipt
"To the laborious taſk of bread;
"*Theſe* are by various tyrants captive led.
"Now wild Ambition, with imperious force,
"Rides, reins, and ſpurs them, like th' unruly horſe;
"And ſervile Avarice yokes them now,
"Like toilſome oxen, to the plow:
"And ſometimes Luſt, like the *miſguiding light*,
"Draws them through all the labyrinths of night."

But although the Engliſh tongue, during the civil wars, had acquired all the ſtrength of which it is capable, it ſtill wanted much of that delicacy which characterizes the language of a poliſhed people, and which it has now ſo fully attained. Waller, whoſe taſte had been formed under the firſt Charles, and who wrote during the brighteſt days of the ſecond, is one of the chief refiners of our verſification, as well as language. Of this refinement the following elegant lines, compared with thoſe of any of our preceding poets, will furniſh ſufficient proof. They contain a wiſh of being tranſported to the Bermudas, or *Summer Iſlands*.

"O how I long my careleſs limbs to lay
"Under the plantain's ſhade, and all the day
"With amorous airs my fancy entertain,
"Invoke the Muſes, and improve my vein.

"No

"No paſſion there in my free breaſt ſhall move,
"None but the ſweeteſt, beſt of paſſions, love!
"There while I ſing, if gentle Love be by,
"That tunes my lute, and winds the ſtrings ſo high,
"With the ſweet ſound of Sacchariſſa's name
"I'll make the liſtening ſavages grow tame."

Waller was followed in his poetical walk by Dryden, who united ſweetneſs with energy, and carried Engliſh rhyme in all its varieties to a very high degree of perfection; while Lee, whoſe dramatic talent was great, introduced into blank verſe that ſolemn pomp of ſound, which was long much affected by our modern tragic poets; and the pathetic Otway (in regard to whom Lee ſeems to ſtand in the ſame relation as Sophocles does to Euripides, or Corneille to Racine) brought tragedy down to the level of domeſtic life, and exemplified that ſimplicity of verſification and expreſſion which is ſo well ſuited to the language of the tender paſſions. But Otway, in other reſpects, is by no means ſo chaſte a writer; nor was the reign of Charles II. though crowded with ſo many men of genius, the æra either of good taſte or elegant manners in England.

Charles himſelf was a man of a ſocial temper, of an eaſy addreſs, and a lively and animated converſation. His courtiers partook much of the character of their prince: they were chiefly men of the world, and many of them diſtinguiſhed by their wit, gallantry, and ſpirit. But having all experienced the inſolence of pious tyranny, or been expoſed to the neglect of poverty, they had imbibed, under the preſſure of adverſity, the moſt libertine opinions both in regard to religion and morals. And in greedily enjoying their

good

PART II. good fortune, after the Reſtoration; in retaliating ſelfiſhneſs, and contraſting the language and the manners of hypocriſy, they ſhamefully violated the laws of decency and decorum. Elated at the return of their ſovereign, the whole royal party diſſolved in thoughtleſs jollity; and even many of the republicans, but eſpecially the younger ſort and the women, were glad to be releaſed from the gloomy auſterity of the commonwealth. A general relaxation of manners took place. Pleaſure became the univerſal object, and love the prevailing taſte. But that love was rather an appetite than a paſſion; and though the ladies ſacrificed freely to it, they were never able to inſpire their paramours either with ſentiment or delicacy.

THE ſame want of delicacy is obſervable in the literary productions of this reign. Even thoſe intended for the ſtage, with very few exceptions, are ſhockingly licentious and indecent, as well as disfigured by extravagance and folly. Nor were the painters more chaſte than the poets. Nymphs bathing, or voluptuouſly repoſing on the verdant ſod, were the common objects of the pencil. Even the female portraits of Sir Peter Lely, naked and languiſhing, are more calculated to provoke looſe deſire, than to impreſs the mind with any idea of the reſpectable qualities of the ladies they were intended to repreſent. It may thereſore be ſeriouſly queſtioned, whether the diſſolute, though comparatively poliſhed manners of this once reputed Auguſtan age, were not more hurtful to literature and the liberal arts in England, than the cant and fanaticiſm of the preceding period.

A BETTER taſte in literature, however, began to diſcover itſelf in the latter productions of Dryden; the

the greater part of whofe Fables, *Abfalom and Achitophel*, *Alexander's Feaft*, and feveral other pieces, written toward the clofe of the feventeenth century, are juftly confidered, notwithftanding fome negligencies, as the moft mafterly poetical compofitions in our language. The fame good tafte extended itfelf to a fifter art. Purcell, the celebrated author of the *Orpheus Britannicus*, fet the principal lyric, and the airs in two of the dramatic pieces of Dryden, to mufic worthy of the poetry.

DRYDEN, during his latter years, alfo greatly excelled in profe; to which he gave an eafe and energy, not to be found united in Clarendon or Temple, the two moft celebrated profe writers of that age. Clarendon's words are well chofen and happily arranged; but his fpirit, and even his fenfe, is frequently loft in the bewildering length of his periods. The ftyle of Temple, though eafy and flowing, wants force. The fermons, or Chriftian orations of archbifhop Tillotfon, have great merit, both in regard to ftyle and matter. Dryden confidered Tillotfon as his mafter in profe-compofition.

THE fciences made greater progrefs in England, during the courfe of the feventeenth century, than polite literature. Early in the reign of James I. Sir Francis Bacon, who is juftly confidered, on account of the extent and variety of his talents, as one of the moft extraordinary men that any nation ever produced, broke through the fcholaftic obfcurity of the age, like the fun from beneath a cloud, and fhewed mankind the neceffity of thinking for themfelves, in order to become truly learned. He began with taking a view of the various objects of human knowledge: he divided thefe objects into claffes; he examined what

was

PART II. A.D. 1686.

was already known, in regard to each of them; and he drew up an immenſe catalogue of what yet remained to be diſcovered. He went even farther: he ſhewed the neceſſity of experimental phyſics, and of reaſoning experimentally on moral ſubjects. If he did not greatly enlarge the bounds of any particular ſcience himſelf, he was no leſs uſefully employed in breaking the fetters of a falſe philoſophy, and conducting the lovers of truth to the proper method of cultivating the whole circle of the ſciences.

THAT liberal ſpirit of inquiry which Bacon had awakened, ſoon communicated itſelf to his countrymen. Harvey, by reaſoning alone, without any mixture of accident, diſcovered the *circulation* of the *blood*; and he had alſo the happineſs of eſtabliſhing this capital diſcovery, during the reign of Charles I. on the moſt ſolid and convincing proofs. Poſterity has added little to the arguments ſuggeſted by his induſtry and ingenuity.

SOON after the Reſtoration, the *Royal Society* was founded; and its members, in a few years, made many important diſcoveries in mathematics and natural philoſophy, in which Wilkins, Wallace, and Boyle, had a great ſhare. Nor were the other branches of ſcience neglected. Hobbes, already diſtinguiſhed by his writings, continued to unfold the principles of policy and morals with a bold but impious freedom. He repreſents man as naturally cruel, unſocial, and unjuſt. His ſyſtem, which was highly admired during the reign of Charles II. as it favours both tyranny and licentiouſneſs, is now deſervedly conſigned to oblivion; but his language and his manner of reaſoning, are ſtill held in eſtimation.

SHAFTES-

SHAFTESBURY, naturally of a benevolent temper, ſhocked with the debaſing principles of Hobbes, and captivated with the generous viſions of Plato, brought to light an enchanting ſyſtem of morals, which every friend to humanity would wiſh to be true. And what is no ſmall matter toward its confirmation, if it has not always obtained the approbation of the *wiſe*, it has ſeldom failed to conciliate the aſſent of the *good*; who are generally willing to believe, that the Divinity has implanted in the human breaſt a ſenſe of right and wrong, independent of religion or cuſtom; and that virtue is naturally as pleaſing to the heart of man as beauty to his eye. LETTER XIX.

WHILE Shafteſbury was conceiving that amiable theory of ethics, according to which *beauty* and *good* are united in the natural as well as in the moral world, which embroiders with brighter colours the robe of ſpring, and gives muſic to the autumnal blaſt; which reconciles man to the greateſt calamities, from a conviction that all is ordered for the beſt, at the ſame time that it makes him enjoy with more ſincere ſatiſfaction the gifts of fortune, and the pleaſures of ſociety, Newton, leaving behind all former aſtronomers, ſurveyed more fully, and eſtabliſhed by demonſtration that *harmonious* ſyſtem of the univerſe, which had been diſcovered by Copernicus; and Locke, no leſs wonderful in his walk, untwiſted the chain of human ideas, and opened a viſta into the myſterious regions of the mind.

THE philoſophy of Newton, all founded on experiment and demonſtration, can never be ſufficiently admired; and it particularly merits the attention of every gentleman, as an acquaintance with the prin-

PART II. ciple of *gravitation*, or with the theory of *light* and *colours*, would be sufficient to stamp an indelible mark of ignorance on the most respectable character. But the discovery of Locke, though now familiar, That all our IDEAS are *acquired* by *sensation* and *reflection*, and consequently, that we *brought none into the world with us*, has had a more serious influence upon the opinions of mankind. It has not only rendered our reasonings concerning the *operations* of the Human understanding more distinct; it has also induced us to reason concerning the nature of the Mind itself, and its various powers and properties. In a word, it has served to introduce an universal system of scepticism, which has shaken every principle of religion and morals.

BUT the same philosophy which has unwisely called in question the divine origin of Christianity, and even the hinge on which it rests, the immortality of the soul; that philosophy which has endeavoured to cut off from man the hope of heaven, has happily contributed to render his earthly dwelling as comfortable as possible. It has turned its researches, with an inquisitive eye, toward every object that can be made subservient to the ease, pleasure, or conveniency of life. Commerce and manufactures, government and police, have equally excited its attention. The arts, both useful and ornamental, have every where been disseminated over Europe, in consequence of this new manner of philosophising; and have all, unless we should perhaps except sculpture, been carried to a higher degree of perfection than in any former period in the history of the human race. Even here, however, an evil is discerned:—and where may not evils, either real or imaginary, be found? Commerce and the arts are supposed to have introduced luxury and effeminacy. But a certain degree of luxury is neces-

iary to give activity to a ſtate; and philoſophers have not yet aſcertained where true refinement ends, and effeminacy or vicious luxury begins. LETTER XIX.

LETTER XX.

A general View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *from the Peace of* RYSWICK *to the Grand Alliance, in* 1701.

AS we approach toward our own times, the materials of hiſtory grow daily more abundant; and conſquently a nicer ſelection becomes neceſſary, in order to preſerve the memory from fatigue. I ſhall, therefore, endeavour to throw into ſhade all unproductive negociations and intrigues, as well as unimportant events, and to comprehend under one view the general tranſactions of Europe, during the enſuing buſy period. Happily the negociations in regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and the war in which ſo many of the great powers of the South and Weſt afterward engaged, to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain under a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, are highly favourable to this deſign. In like manner, the affairs of the North and the Eaſt are ſimplified, by the long and bloody conteſt between Charles XII. and Peter the Great; ſo that I hope to be able to bring forward, without confuſion, the whole at once to the eye. LETTER XX. A. D. 1697.

THE firſt object, after the peace of Ryſwick, which engaged the general attention of Europe, was the ſettlement of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The declining health of Charles II. a prince who had long been in a languiſhing condition, and whoſe death was daily expected, gave new ſpirit to the intrigues of the com-

PART II. A.D. 1697.

petitors for his crown. These competitors were Lewis XIV. the emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria. Lewis and the emperor were in the same degree of consanguinity to Charles, both being grandsons of Philip III. The Dauphin and the emperor's eldest son Joseph, king of the Romans, had therefore a double claim, their mothers being two daughters of Philip IV. The right of birth was in the house of Bourbon, the king and his son the Dauphin being both descended from the eldest daughters of Spain; but the imperial family asserted, in support of their claim, beside the solemn and ratified renuciations of Lewis XIII. and XIV. of all title to the Spanish succession, the blood of Maximilian, the common parent of both branches of the house of Austria—the right of male representation. The elector of Bavaria claimed, as the husband of an archduchess, the only surviving child of the emperor Leopold, by the infanta Margaret, second daughter of Philip IV. who had declared HER descendants the heirs of his crown, in preference to those of his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa; so that the son of the elector, in default of issue by Charles II. was entitled to the whole Spanish succession, unless the testament of Philip IV. and the renunciation of Maria Theresa, on her marriage with the French monarch, were set aside.

Beside these legal titles to inheritance, the general interests of Europe required that the prince of Bavaria should succeed to the Spanish monarchy. But his two competitors were obstinate in their claims; the elector was unable to contend with either of them; and the king of England, though sufficiently disposed to adopt any measure for preserving the balance of power, was in no condition to begin a new war. From a laud-

a laudable, but perhaps too violent jealoufy of liberty, the Englifh parliament had paffed a vote, foon after the peace of Ryfwick, for reducing the army to feven thoufand men, and thefe to be *native* fubjects[1]; in confequence of which, when fupported by a bill, the king, to his great mortification, was obliged to difmifs even his Dutch guards. LETTER XX. A.D. 1697.

THUS circumftanced, William was ready to liften to any terms calculated to continue the repofe of Europe. Lewis XIV. though better provided for war, was no lefs peacably difpofed; and fenfible, that any attempt to treat with the emperor would be ineffectual, he propofed to the king of England a partition of the Spanifh dominions, at the fame time that he fent the marquis d'Harcourt, as his ambaffador to the court of Madrid, with a view of procuring the whole. Leopold alfo fent an ambaffador into Spain, where intrigues were carried high on both fides. The body of the Spanifh nation favoured the lineal fucceffion of the houfe of Bourbon; but the queen, who was a German princefs, and who, by means of her creatures, governed both the king and kingdom, fupported the pretenfions of the emperor:—and all the grandees, connected with the court, were in the fame intereft.

MEANWHILE a treaty of partition was figned, through the temporizing policy of William and Lewis, by England, Holland, and France. In this treaty it was ftipulated, That, on the eventual demife of the King of Spain, his dominions fhould be divided among the competitors for his crown in the following manner. Spain, her American empire, and the fo- A.D. 1698.

1. *Journals*, Dec. 26, 1697.

PART II. A. D. 1698. vereignty of the Netherlands, were aſſigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria; to the Dauphin, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuſcan ſhore, and the marquiſate of Final, in Italy; and on the ſide of Spain, the province of Guipuſcoa, with all the Spaniſh territories beyond the Pyrenees, on the mountains of Navarre, Alva, and Biſcay. To the archduke Charles, the emperor's ſecond ſon, was allotted the dukedom of Milan [2].

THE contracting powers mutually engaged to keep the treaty of partition a profound ſecret during the life of the king of Spain. But that condition, though neceſſary, was not eaſily to be obſerved. As the avowed deſign of the alliance was the preſervation of the repoſe of Europe, it became neceſſary to communicate the treaty to the emperor, and to gain his conſent to a negociation, which deprived him of the great object of his ambition. This difficult taſk was undertaken by William, from a perſuaſion of his own influence with Leopold. In the mean time intelligence of the treaty was privately conveyed from Holland to Madrid. The Spaniſh miniſtry were filled with indignation, at finding a diviſion of their monarchy made by foreigners, and that even during the life of their ſovereign. The king immediately called an extraordinary council, to deliberate on ſo unprecedented a tranſaction; and the reſult, contrary to all expectation, but perfectly conformable to the laws of ſound policy, was a will of Charles II. conſtituting the electoral prince of Bavaria his ſole heir, agreeable to the teſtament of Philip IV. in favour of the deſcendants of Margaret, his ſecond daughter,

2. De Torcy, vol. i. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xvi.

to the utter exclusion of the offspring of Maria Theresa, her eldest sister, and the whole house of Bourbon, also excluded by the Pyrenenan treaty [3]. LETTER XX.

The king of Spain unexpectedly recovered from his illness, in some degree, and the hopes and fears of Europe were suspended for a time. Meanwhile England and Holland had every reason to be pleased with the will, which was infinitely more favourable to a general balance of power than the partition treaty; but the sudden death of the elector prince of Bavaria, not without strong suspicions of poison, revived all their former apprehensions. Lewis and William again negociated, and a second treaty of partition was privately signed, by England, Holland, and France, notwithstanding the violent remonstrances of the court of Madrid against such a measure. Feb. 8. A.D. 1699.

By this treaty, which differed materially from the former, it was agreed, that on the eventual decease of Charles II. without issue, Spain and her American dominions should descend to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; that Naples, Sicily, the marquisate of Final, the towns on the Italian shore, and the province of Guipuscoa, should fall to the share of the Dauphin, together with the duchies of Lorrain and Bar, which their native prince was desired to exchange for the duchy of Milan; and that the county of Binche should remain, as a sovereignty, to the prince of Vaudemont [4]. In order to prevent the union of Spain and the imperial crown in the person of ONE prince, provision was made, That in case of the death of the king of the Romans, the archduke, if raised to

3. Voltaire, ibid.

4. De Torcy, vol. i.

PART II. A.D. 1699. that dignity, ſhould not ſucceed to the Spaniſh throne. In like manner, it was particularly ſtipulated, That no Dauphin or king of France ſhould ever wear the crown of Spain; and a ſecret article provided againſt the contingency of the emperor's refuſing to accede to the treaty, as well as againſt any difficulties that might ariſe, in regard to the exchange propoſed to the duke of Lorrain [5].

FROM thus providing for the repoſe of the South of Europe, the attention of William was ſuddenly called toward the North, where two of the moſt extraordinary men that ever appeared upon the ſtage of human life, were riſing into notice; Peter I. of Ruſſia, and Charles XII. of Sweden. Peter, whom we ſhall afterward have occaſion to conſider in the character of a legiſlator, had already rendered himſelf formidable by the defeat of the Turks, in 1696, and the taking of Aſoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquiſition led to more extenſive views. He reſolved to make Ruſſia the centre of trade between Europe and Aſia: he projected a junction of the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Tanais, by means of canals; and thus to open a paſſage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and from theſe ſeas to the Northern Ocean [6]. The port of Archangel, frozen up for almoſt nine months in the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous paſſage, he did not think ſufficiently commodious; he therefore reſolved, to build a city upon the Baltic Sea, which ſhould be-

5. De Torcy, ubi ſup.

6. Voltaire's *Hiſt. Ruſſ.* tom. i. compoſed from the moſt authentic materials, chiefly furniſhed by the court of Peterſburgh.

come

come the magazine of the North, and the capital of his extenſive empire [7]. LETTER XX. A.D. 1699.

SEVERAL princes, before this illuſtrious barbarian, diſguſted with the purſuits of ambition, or tired with ſuſtaining the load of public affairs, had renounced their crowns, and taken refuge in the ſhade of indolence, or of philoſophical retirement; but hiſtory affords no example of any ſovereign, who had diveſted himſelf of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better: that was a ſtretch of magnanimity reſerved for Peter the Great. Though almoſt deſtitute himſelf of education, he diſcovered, by the natural force of his genius, and a few converſations with ſtrangers, his own rude ſtate and the ſavage condition of his ſubjects. He reſolved to become worthy of the character of a MAN, to ſee men, and to have men to govern. Animated by the noble ambition of acquiring inſtruction, and of carrying back to his people the improvements of other nations, he accordingly quitted his dominions, in 1697, as a private gentleman in the retinue of three ambaſſadors, whom he ſent to different courts of Europe.

As ſoon as Peter arrived at Amſterdam, which was the firſt place that particularly attracted his notice, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of commerce and the mechanical arts; and, in order more completely to acquire the art of ſhip-building, he entered himſelf as a carpenter in one of the principal dock-yards, and laboured and lived, in all reſpects, as the common journeymen. At his leiſure hours he ſtudied natural philoſophy, navigation, fortification, ſurgery, and ſuch other ſciences as may be neceſſary to the ſove-

7. Id. ibid.

reign

PART II. A.D. 1699.

reign of a barbarous people. From Holland he passed over to England, where he perfected himself in the art of ship-building. King William, in order to gain his favour, entertained him with a naval review, made him a present of an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his service a number of ingenious artificers. Thus instructed, and attended by several men of science, Peter returned to Russia, after an absence of near two years, with all the useful, and many of the ornamental arts in his train [8].

THE peace of Carlowitz, concluded soon after the return of the czar, seemed to afford him full leisure for the prosecution of those plans, which he had formed for the civilization of his subjects. But Peter was ambitious of the reputation and the fortune of a conqueror. The art of war was a new art, which it was necessary to teach his people; and valuable acquisitions, he thought, might easily be obtained, by joining the kings of Poland and Denmark against Charles XII. of Sweden, yet in his minority. Beside, he wanted a port on the eastern shore of the Baltic, in order to facilitate the execution of his commercial schemes. He therefore resolved to make himself master of the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia, and had formerly been in the possession of his ancestors. With this view, he entered into a league against Sweden with Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded the famous Sobieski in the throne of Poland [9]. The war was begun by the king of Denmark; who, contrary to the faith of treaties, invaded the territories of the duke

8. Voltaire, ubi sup.

9. Voltaire's *Hist. Charles XII.* founded entirely on the original information.

of

of Holftein Gottorp, who had married a fifter of Charles XII. LETTER XX. A.D. 1699.

In thefe ambitious projects the hoftile princes were encouraged, not only by the youth of the king of Sweden, who had fucceeded his father, Charles XI. in 1697, when only fifteen years of age, but by the little eftimation, in which he was held by foreign courts. Charles, however, fuddenly gave the lie to public opinion, by difcovering the greateft talents for war, accompanied with the moft enterprizing and heroic fpirit. No fooner did the occafion call, than his bold genius began to fhew itfelf. Inftead of being difconcerted, when told of the powerful confederacy that was forming againft him, he feemed rather to rejoice at the opportunity, which it would afford him of difplaying his courage. Meanwhile he did not neglect the neceffary preparations or precautions. He renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland; and he fent an army into Pomerania, to be ready to fupport the duke of Holftein, his brother-in-law [10].

On Holftein the ftorm firft fell. The Danes, led by the duke of Wurtemburg, and encouraged by the prefence of their fovereign, invaded that duchy; A.D. 1700. and after taking fome inconfiderable places, invefted Tonningen, while the Ruffians, Poles, and Saxons, entered Livonia and Ingria. The moment Charles was informed of the invafion of Holftein, he refolved to carry war into the kingdom of Denmark. He accordingly left his capital, never more to return thither, and embarked with his troops at Carlfcroon; having appointed an extraordinary council, chofen

10. Ubi fup.

from

PART II. A.D. 1700.

from the ſenate, to regulate affairs during his abſence. The Swediſh fleet was joined at the mouth of the Sound, by a combined ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch men of war; which William, as both king of England and Stadtholder of Holland, had ſent to the aſſiſtance of his ally. The Daniſh fleet, unable to face the enemy, retired under the guns of Copenhagen, which was bombarded; and the king of Denmark, who had failed in his attempt upon Tonningen, was himſelf cooped up in Holſtein, by ſome Swediſh frigates cruiſing on the coaſt.

In this critical ſeaſon, the enterpriſing ſpirit of the young king of Sweden ſuggeſted to him the means of finiſhing the war at a blow. He propoſed to beſiege Copenhagen by land, while the combined fleet blocked it up by ſea. The idea was admired by all his generals, and the neceſſary preparations were made for a deſcent. The king himſelf, impatient to reach the ſhore, leaped into the ſea ſword in hand, where the water roſe above his middle. His example was followed by all his officers and ſoldiers, who quickly put to flight the Daniſh troops that attempted to oppoſe his landing. Charles, who had never before been preſent at a general diſcharge of muſkets loaded with ball, aſked major Stuart, who ſtood near him, what occaſioned the whiſtling which he heard. "It "is the ſound of the bullets," replied the major, "which they fire againſt your majeſty." Very well!" ſaid the king: — "this ſhall henceforth be my "muſic [11]."

The citizens of Copenhagen filled with conſternation, ſent a deputation to Charles, beſeeching him

11. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

not to bombard the town. He on horfeback received the deputies at the head of his regiment of guards. They fell on their knees before him; and he granted their requeft, on their agreeing to pay him four hundred thoufand rix-dollars. In the mean time the king of Denmark was in the moft perilous fituation; preffed by land on one fide, and confined by fea on the other. The Swedes were in the heart of his dominions, and his capital and his fleet were both ready to fall into their hands. He could derive no hopes but from negociation aud fubmiffion. The king of England offered his mediation: the French ambaffador alfo interpofed his good offices; and a treaty, highly honourable to Charles, was concluded at Travendale, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holftein, to the exclufion of Ruffia and Poland [12].

LETTER XX.

A. D. 1700.

While William was in this manner fecuring the peace of foreign nations, the moft violent difcontents prevailed in one of his own kingdoms. The Scots, in confequence of an act of parliament, agreeable to powers granted by the king to his commiffioner, and confirmed by letters patent under the great feal, for eftablifhing a company trading to Africa and the Weft Indies, with very extenfive privileges, and an exemption from all duties for twenty-one years, had planted, in 1698, a colony on the ifthmus of Darien, and founded a fettlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh. The whole nation built on this project the moft extravagant ideas of fuccefs; and, in order to fupport it they had fubfcribed the very large fum of four hundred thoufand pounds fterling [13]. The fituation of the fettlement, it muft be owned, was well chofen; and, two hundred thoufand pounds of

12. *Hift. du Nord*, tom. ii. 13. Burnet, book vi.

the

PART II. A.D. 1700.

the money being raiſed, much might have been reaſonably expected from the perſevering and enterpriſing ſpirit of the people, animated by the hope and the love of gold.

But the promiſe of the future greatneſs of New Edinburgh, the intended capital of New Caledonia, proved its ruin. Its vicinity to Porto Bello and Carthagena, at that time the great marts of the Spaniards in America, and the poſſibility which its ſituation afforded of cutting off all communication between theſe and the port of Panama on the South Sea, whither the treaſures of Peru were annually conveyed, filled the court of Madrid with the moſt alarming apprehenſions. Warm remonſtrances were accordingly preſented, by the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of England, on the ſubject. The Engliſh alſo became jealous of the Scottiſh colony. They were apprehenſive that many of their planters, allured by the proſpect of gold mines, with which New Caledonia was ſaid to abound, and the hopes of robbing the Spaniards with impunity, would be induced to abandon their former habitations, and retire thither; that ſhips of all nations, to the great detriment of the Engliſh trade with the Spaniſh main, would reſort to New Edinburgh, which was declared a free port; that the Buccaneers, and lawleſs adventurers of every denomination, would make it their principal rendezvous, as it would afford them an eaſy paſſage to the coaſts of the South Sea, and by that means an opening to all the treaſures of Mexico and Peru[14].

Influenced by theſe conſiderations, and afraid of a rupture with Spain, William ſent ſecret orders

14. Id. ibid.

to the governor of Jamaica, and to the governors of all the other Englifh fettlements, to hold no communication with the Scottifh colony; nor, on any pretence whatfoever, to fupply them with arms, ammunition, or provifions [15]. Thus deprived of all fupport in America, and receiving but flender fupplies from Europe, the miferable remnant of the Scottifh fettlers in Darien were obliged to furrender to the Spaniards. Never, perhaps, were any people fo mortified, as the Scots at this difafter. Difappointed in their golden dreams, and beggared by their unfortunate efforts, the whole nation was inflamed with rage and indignation againft William; whom they accufed, in the moft virulent language, of duplicity, ingratitude, and inhumanity. Proper leaders only were wanting to have made them rife in arms, and throw off his authority.

Nor were the people of England in a much better humour. Apprehenfive the fecond partition treaty might involve them in a new continental war, they loudly exclaimed againft it, as an impudent invafion of the rights of nations. And the powers on the continent, in general, feemed equally diffatisfied with that treaty. The German princes, unwilling to be concerned in any alliance which might excite the refentment of the houfe of Auftria, were cautious and dilatory in their anfwers: the Italian ftates, alarmed at the idea of feeing France in poffeffion of Naples, and other diftricts in their country, fhewed an averfion againft the partition-treaty: the duke of Savoy, in hopes of being able to barter his confent for fome confiderable advantage, affected a myfterious neutrality: the Swifs cantons declined acceding as gua-

15. Burnet, ubi fup.

PART II. A.D. 1700.

rantees; and the emperor expreffed his aftonifhment, that any difpofal fhould be made of the Spanifh monarchy, without the confent of the prefent poffeffor and the ftates of the kingdom. He, therefore, refufed to fign the treaty, until he fhould know the fentiments of his Catholic Majefty, on a tranfaction in which the interefts of both were fo deeply concerned; remarking, That the contracting powers, in attempting to compel him, the *rightful heir*, to accept of a *part* of his *inheritance* by a time limited, were at once guilty of a flagrant violation of the laws of juftice and decorum [16].

LEOPOLD, in a word, rejected the treaty of partition, becaufe he expected the fucceffion to the whole Spanifh monarchy; and though Lewis XIV. had figned it, in order to quiet the jealoufy of his neighbours, and had engaged, along with the Dauphin, not to accept of any will, teftament, or donation contrary to it, he was not without hopes of fupplanting the emperor in that rich inheritance. The inclinations of the king of Spain pointed toward the houfe of Auftria; and, enraged at the projected partition of his dominions, he actually nominated the archduke, Charles, his univerfal heir. But the hearts of the Spanifh nation were alienated from that houfe, by the arrogance of the queen and her rapacious German favourites, and the court of Vienna took no care to conciliate their affections. On the other hand, the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambaffador, by his generofity, affability, and infinuating addrefs, contributed greatly to remove the prejudices entertained by the Spaniards againft his nation, and

16. De Torcy. Burnet. Voltaire.

gained

gained a powerful party to his master's intereſt at the court of Madrid [17]. LETTER XX. A. D. 1700.

The Spaniſh grandees, as a body, were induced to favour the claims of the houſe of Bourbon; but its beſt friends were the clergy. Cardinal Portocarrero, archbiſhop of Toledo, taking advantage of the ſuperſtitious weakneſs of his ſovereign, repreſented to him, that France only could maintain the ſucceſſion entire; that the houſe of Auſtria was feeble and exhauſted, and that any prince of that family muſt owe his chief ſupport to deteſtable heretics. He adviſed his Catholic Majeſty, however, to conſult the Pope on this important ſubject; and Charles, notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, wrote a letter with his own hand, deſiring the opinion of that infallible judge. Of a caſe of conſcience, Innocent XII. made an affair of ſtate. He was ſenſible, that the liberties of Italy in a great meaſure depended upon reſtraining the power of the houſe of Auſtria: he therefore declared, in anſwer to the devout king, That the laws of Spain, and the welfare of all Chriſtendom, required him to give the preference to the family of Bourbon. The opinion of his Holineſs was ſupported by that of the Spaniſh clergy; and Charles, thinking the ſalvation of his ſoul depended on following their advice, ſecretly made a will, in which he annulled the renunciations of Maria Thereſa, and nominated the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the Dauphin, his ſucceſſor in all his dominions [18]. The preference was given to this young prince, in order to prevent any alarm in Europe at the union of two ſuch powerful monarchies, as thoſe of France and Spain; to preſerve the Spaniſh monarchy entire and independent, yet do juſtice to the rights of blood.

17. De Torcy, vol. i. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xi. 18. Id. ibid.

 THOUGH

PART II. A.D. 1700. THOUGH this will of the king of Spain was not made known to any of the rival powers, the Spanish succession, as the death of Charles II. was hourly expected, engaged the solicitude of all. But the attention of William, the grand mover of the European system, was called off, before that event took place, to the *succession* of England, in consequence of the sudden death of the duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the princess of Denmark, and the last male heir in the Protestant line. Catholics were excluded from succeeding to the English crown by the former Act of Settlement: it therefore became necessary now to proceed to Protestant females; and as there remained no probability of William or the princess of Denmark having any future issue, the A.D. 1701. eventual succession to the crown was settled, by act of parliament, on the princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Protestants [19]. She was grand-daughter of James I. by the princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector Palatine, who was stript of his dominions by the emperor Frederic II.

THIS settlement of the crown was accompanied with certain limitations, or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, which were supposed to have been overlooked at the Revolution. The principal of these were, That all affairs relative to government, cognisable by the privy council, should be submitted to it, and that all resolutions therein taken, should be signed by the members who advised or consented to them; that no pardon should be pleadable to any impeachment laid in parliament; that no person, who should possess any office under the

19. *Journals*, April 14, 1701.

king,

king, or receive a penſion from the crown, ſhould be capable of ſitting in the houſe of commons; that the commiſſions of the judges ſhould be rendered permanent, and their ſalaries be aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; that, in the event of the crown deſcending or being transferred to a foreigner, the Engliſh nation ſhould not be obliged, without the conſent of parliament, to enter into any war, for the defence of territories not depending on the kingdom of England; and that whoſoever ſhould come to the poſſeſſion of the throne, ſhould join in communion with the church of England[20]. LETTER XX. A.D. 1701.

WHAT time the Engliſh were thus ſettling the ſucceſſion to their crown, and cooly providing for the ſecurity of their liberties, all the free ſtates on the continent were thrown into alarm, by the death of Charles II. of Spain, and his will in favour of the houſe of Bourbon. Lewis XIV. ſeemed at firſt to heſitate, whether he ſhould accept the will, or adhere to the treaty of Partition. By the latter, France would have received a conſiderable acceſſion of territory, and have had England and Holland for her allies againſt the emperor; by the former, ſhe would have the glory of giving a maſter to her ancient rival, and the proſpect of directing, through him, the Spaniſh councils, at the hazard of having the emperor, England, and Holland for her enemies. This danger was foreſeen; but Lewis could not reſiſt the vanity of placing his grandſon on the throne of Spain. He accepted the will by the advice of his council[21]; and the duke of Anjou, with the univerſal conſent of the Spaniſh nation, was crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V.

20. Ibid. 21. De Torcy, tom. i.

PART II.
A.D. 1701.

THE French monarch, in order to juftify his conduct to the king of England and the States-general of the United Provinces, who affected to be highly offended at his breach of faith, very plaufibly urged, That the treaty of Partition was not likely to anfwer the ends for which it had been negociated; that the emperor had refufed to accede to it; that it was approved by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated; that the people of England and Holland had expreffed their diffatisfaction at the profpect of feeing France put in poffeffion of Naples and Sicily; that the Spaniards were fo determined againft the divifion of their monarchy, that there would be a neceffity of conquering them, before the treaty could be executed; that the whole Spanifh fucceffion would have devolved upon the archduke Charles, if France had rejected the will, the fame courier, who brought it, having orders to proceed immediately to Vienna, with fuch an offer, in cafe of the refufal of the court of Verfailles; that the confervation of the peace of Europe, was what his moft Chriftian majefty confidered to be the chief object of the contracting parties; and that, true to this principle, he had only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the fpirit of the treaty [22].

THOUGH thefe reafons were by no means fatisfactory to William or the States, they cautioufly concealed their refentment, as they were not in a condition to fupport it by any decifive meafure. And it has been afferted, with fome appearance of truth, That, if they had permitted Philip V. peacably to enjoy the Spanifh throne, he would have become, in a few years, as good a Spaniard as any of the preceding

22. Burnet, book vi. De Torcy, tom. i.

Philips,

Philips, and have utterly excluded the influence of French councils from the adminiſtration of his government; whereas the confederacy that was afterward formed againſt him, and the war by which it was followed, threw him wholly into the hands of the French, becauſe their fleets and armies were neceſſary to his defence, and gave France a ſway over the Spaniſh councils, which ſhe has ever ſince retained[23]. LETTER XX. A.D. 1701.

It muſt, however, be confeſſed, That, independent of prejudice or paſſion, war was become unavoidable. The ſecuring of commerce and of barriers, the preventing an union of the two powerful monarchies of France and Spain in any future period, and the preſerving, to a certain degree at leaſt, an equilibrium of power, were matters of too much moment to England, Holland, and to Europe in general, to be reſted on the moderation of the French, and the vigour of the Spaniſh councils, under a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, and a grandſon of Lewis XIV. yet in his minority. Aware of this, and conſcious of their own inability to defend their extenſive dominions, the Spaniards reſigned themſelves entirely to the guardianſhip of the French monarch. The Regency commanded the viceroys of the provinces to obey his orders: a French ſquadron anchored in the port of Cadiz; another was ſent to the protection of the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and, under pretence that the States were making preparations for war, the court of France was impowered to take poſſeſſion of the Dutch barrier in Flanders[24].

23. Bolingbroke, *Sketch of the Hiſt. and State of Europe.* 24. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. i. Burnet, book vi.

PART II. April 1701

THE elector of Bavaria, uncle to Philip V. and governor of the Spanish Netherlands, introduced on the same day, and at the same hour, French troops into all the barrier towns in Flanders, and seized upon the Dutch forces that were in garrison, to the number of twenty-two battalions. Overwhelmed with consternation at this event, especially when they reflected on their own defenceless condition, and the facility of an invasion from France, the States instantly agreed to acknowledge the new king of Spain; and the French monarch, on receiving a letter to that purpose, ordered their troops to be set at liberty[25]. The king of England still continued obstinate; but having in vain attempted to draw the parliament, which consisted chiefly of Tories, and is supposed to have been under the influence of French gold, into his hostile views, he at last found it necessary to acknowledge the duke of Anjou as lawful sovereign of Spain, though Lewis refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick[26].

THE emperor now, of all the great powers of Europe, alone continued to dispute the title of Philip V. Though Leopold pretended a prior right to the whole Spanish monarchy, he determined at first to confine his views to a part, and fixed upon the duchy of Milan, which he claimed as a fief of the empire. He accordingly issued his mandate to the inhabitants, commanding their obedience on pain of being considered as rebels. But the prince of Vaudemont, governor of that duchy, had already submitted himself to the new king of Spain, conformable to the will of Charles II. A body of French troops, at

25. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. Burnet, book vi. 26. Id. ibid.

his

his requisition, had entered the Milanese territory. These were soon followed by a powerful army; and the duke of Savoy, whose daughter Philip had married, in order to strengthen his interest on that side, was declared captain-general of the whole.

LETTER XX.
A. D. 1701.

The emperor, however, was not discouraged by these formidable appearances, from pursuing his claim to the duchy of Milan. He sent an army of thirty thousand men into Italy, under prince Eugene, who forced the passage of the Adige, along which the French troops were posted; entered their entrenchments at Carpi, and obliged them to cover themselves behind the Mincio[27]. In consequence of this advantage, and others by which it was followed, the Imperialists became masters of all the country between the Adige and the Adda: they even penetrated into the territory of Bresciano, and the French found it necessary to retire beyond the Oglio[28].

The mareschal de Catinat, who was second in command, began to suspect that all the misfortunes of the French, in the field, could not proceed from the superior genius of prince Eugene. He became doubtful of the fidelity of the duke of Savoy, and communicated his suspicions to Lewis XIV. who, not thinking it possible that his interests could be betrayed by a prince so intimately connected with his family, ascribed these surmises to impatience or private disgust, and sent the mareschal de Villeroy to supersede Catinat. Anxious to signalize himself by some great action, Villeroy, in concert with the commander in chief, attempted to surprise the Imperialists in their camp at Chiari; but the duke of Savoy hav-

27. *Mem. de Feuquieres.* 28. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xvii.

PART II. A.D. 1756.

ing acquainted prince Eugene of this design, and of the disposition of the intended attack, the French were repulsed with great loss [29].

DURING these operations in Italy, the English and Dutch were engaged in fruitless negociations with France; which were continued rather to gain time, in order to make preparations for war, than with any hope of preserving the peace of Europe. At last the departure of the French ambassador, D'Avaux, from the Hague, put an end to even the appearance of a negociation; and the successes of the emperor, though by no means decisive, made his cause be viewed with a more favourable eye. He had already secured the elector of Brandenburg, through the channel of his vanity, by dignifying him with the title of King of Prussia. The German princes, in general, were induced to depart from their proposed neutrality. The king of England, though still thwarted by his parliament, had resolved upon a war; and the king of Denmark, gained by a subsidiary treaty, was ready to assist him with a body of troops [30].

IN proportion as Leopold observed the increase of the inclination of the maritime powers for war, he rose in his demands with respect to the terms of the projected alliance. He at one time seemed determined to be satisfied with nothing less than the whole Spanish monarchy; but finding William and the States resolute against engaging in such an ambitious project, he moderated his views, and came into their proposals. They would only undertake to procure for him the Spanish dominions in Italy, and to recover Flan-

29. *Mercure, Hist. et Politique. Contin.* P. Daniel. Henault, tom. ii.
30. Burnet. Voltaire. Lamberti. *De* Torcy.

ders,

ders, as a barrier for Holland. Matters being thus adjusted, the famous treaty, generally known by the name of the GRAND ALLIANCE, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the king of England, and the States-general of the United Provinces[31]. The avowed objects of this treaty were, "The procuring satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty in regard "to the Spanish succession; the obtaining of security "to the English and Dutch for their dominions and "commerce; the preventing the union of the two "great monarchies of France and Spain; and the "hindering the French from possessing the Spanish "dominions in America." It was also stipulated, That the king of England and the States might retain for themselves, whatever lands and cities they should conquer in both Indies[32]. And the contracting powers agreed to employ two months, in attempting to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction, and security they demanded.

LETTER XX.

A.D. 1701. Sept. 7.

WHILE this confederacy, which afterward lighted, with so much fury, the flames of war in the southern parts of Europe, was forming, the north-east quarter was deeply involved in blood. Charles XII. of Sweden no sooner raised the siege of Copenhagen, in consequence of his treaty with the king of Denmark, in the year 1700, than he turned his arms against the Russians, who had undertaken the siege of Narva, with eighty thousand men. Charles, with only eight thousand men, advanced to the relief of the place; and having carried, without difficulty, all the out-posts, he resolved to attack the Russian camp. As soon as the artillery had made a breach in the entrenchments, he accordingly ordered an assault to be

31. Ibid. 32. Vide *Treaty*, art. vi.

made

PART II. A.D. 1701.

made with ſcrewed bayonets, under favour of a ſtorm of ſnow, which the wind drove full in the face of the enemy. The Ruſſians, for a time, ſtood the ſhock with firmneſs; but, after an engagement of three hours, their entrenchments were forced on all ſides, with great ſlaughter, and Charles entered Narva in triumph 33. About eight thouſand of the enemy were killed in the action; many were drowned in the Narva, by the breaking down of a bridge under the fugitives; near thirty thouſand were made priſoners; and all their magazines, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Swedes 34. Charles diſmiſſed all his priſoners, after diſarming them, except the officers, whom he treated with great generoſity.

The czar was not preſent in this battle. He had imprudently, though perhaps fortunately, left his camp, in order to forward the approach of another army, with which he hoped to ſurround the king of Sweden. When informed of the diſaſter before Narva, he was chagrined, but not diſcouraged. "I "knew that the Swedes would beat us," ſaid he; "but in time, they will teach us to become their "conquerors 35." Conformable to this opinion, though at the head of forty thouſand men, inſtead of advancing againſt the victor, he evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, and led back his raw troops into his own country; where he employed himſelf in diſciplining them, and in civilizing his people, not doubting but he ſhould one day be able to cruſh his rival.

In the mean time the king of Sweden, having paſſed the winter at Narva, took the field as ſoon as

33. Voltaire, *Hiſt. of Charles* XII. 34. Id. ibid. 35. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ruſſia*, vol. i.

the

LETTER XX.

A.D. 1701.

the ſeaſon would permit, with all the towering hopes of a youthful conqueror. He entered Livonia, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Riga, which the king of Poland had in vain beſieged the preceding campaign. The Poles and Saxons were poſted along the Duna, which is very broad at that place; and Charles, who lay on the oppoſite ſide of the river, was under the neceſſity of forcing a paſſage. This he effected, although with much difficulty; the Swedes being driven back into the river, after they had formed themſelves upon the land. Their young king rallied them in the water; and leading them to the charge in a more compact body, repulſed mareſchal Stenau, who commanded the Saxons, and advanced into the plain. There a general engagement enſued, and the Swedes gained a complete but bloody victory [36]. The enemy loſt near three thouſand men, with all their artillery and baggage. The loſs of the Swedes was very conſiderable, the duke of Courland having penetrated three times into the heart of the king's guards [37].

Immediately after this victory, Charles advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland. That city, and all the towns in the duchy, ſurrendered to him at diſcretion. His expedition, thither was rather a journey than a military enterprize: From Courland he paſſed into Lithuania, conquering every thing in his progreſs; and he is ſaid to have felt a particular ſatisfaction, when he entered in triumph the town of Birzen, where Auguſtus king of Poland, and the czar Peter, had planned his deſtruction but a few months before [38]. It was here that, under the ſtimu-

36. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Charles* XII. Parthenay, *Hiſt. Polog.* tom. i.
37. Id. ibid. 38. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

lating

PART II.

lating influence of resentment, he formed the great project of dethroning Augustus, by means of his own subjects. That prince had been accustomed to govern despotically in Saxony; and fondly imagining that he might exercise the same authority in Poland, as in his hereditary dominions, he lost the hearts of his new people. The Poles murmured at seeing their towns enslaved by Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers covered with Russian armies. More jealous of their liberty than ambitious of conquest, they considered the war with Sweden as an artful measure of the court, in order to furnish a pretext for the introduction of foreign troops 39.

CHARLES XII. resolved to take advantage of these discontents, and succeeded beyond his fondest hopes. But in the prosecution of this, and his other ambitious projects, we must leave him for a time, in order to contemplate a more important scene of action.

39. Parthen. *Hist. Polog.* tom. i.

TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

LETTER XXI.

EUROPE *from the beginning of the General War, in* 1701, *to the Offers of Peace made by* FRANCE, *in* 1706, *and the* UNION *of* ENGLAND *and* SCOTLAND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the alliance which the king of England had concluded with the emperor and the States-general, it may be queftioned whether he could have prevailed upon his people to engage heartily in a new continental war, had it not been for an unforefeen meafure, which roufed their refentment againft France. Soon after the figning of the Grand Alliance James II. died at St. Germains; and Lewis XIV. in violation of the treaty of Ryfwick, acknowledged the fon of that unfortunate prince king of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III.

LETTER XXI. A.D. 1700.

Sept. 16.

WHETHER Lewis was induced to this meafure by generofity of fentiment, or what the French writers term *the elevation and fenfibility of his great foul*; by the tears of the widow of the deceafed prince, feconded by the entreaties of Madame de Maintenon, or by political motives, is a matter of very little confequence. It is probable, however, that he was partly influenced by political confiderations; that, believing war to be unavoidable, he hoped, by thus encouraging the Jacobites, to be able to difturb the Englifh government; efpecially as the declining health of William made his death be regarded as no diftant event, and the party in favour of the direct line of fucceffion was ftill powerful in all the three Britifh kingdoms. But whatever might be the motive of the French monarch for fuch a meafure; whether it fprung

PART II. A.D. 1701. ſprung from weakneſs, generoſity, or ſelfiſhneſs, it hurried him into a war, for which he was very little prepared, and which reduced him, in a few years, from the higheſt pinnacle of grandeur, to the loweſt ſtate of deſpondency. France, exhauſted by her former efforts, had not yet had time to recover new ſtrength; and Spain, languiſhing under every kind of political malady, was only a load upon her ſhoulders. But the ſupply of the precious metals, which ſhe was ſuffered, by the negligence of the maritime powers, to procure from the Spaniſh dominions in America, and particularly from thoſe on the South Sea, enabled her to maintain the conteſt much longer than would have been poſſible for her merely with her own internal reſources [1].

The marquis de Torcy attempted in vain to apologize to the king of England for the conduct of his maſter: the affront to William was too flagrant to be patiently borne. He inſtantly recalled his ambaſſador from the court of France, and ordered the French envoy to quit his dominions. Nor did the Engliſh parliament, to which William made a ſpeech well ſuited to the occaſion, diſcover leſs reſentment at the inſult offered to their ſovereign, and to themſelves, by the French monarch; in preſuming to declare who ſhould be their king, and in naming a perſon excluded from the ſucceſſion by an act of the whole legiſlature. A.D. 1702. Jan. 2. They paſſed a bill of attainder againſt the pretended prince of Wales, for aſſuming the title of king of England; and alſo a bill to oblige all perſons, holding any office in church or ſtate, to abjure his claim to the crown. They entered warmly into the idea of the war, which was eagerly deſired by

1. Bolingbroke, *Sket. of the Hiſt. and State of Europe.*

by the people; voted forty thoufand men for land-fervice, agreeable to the terms of the Grand Alliance, and an equal number for the navy. And they prefented an addrefs to the throne, requefting the king to infert in the treaty an article, which was readily affented to by the contracting powers, That no peace fhould be concluded with France, until reparation was made by the French monarch for the indignity offered to his majefty and the Englifh nation, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England[2].

William, thus fupported in his favourite fcheme, by the unanimous voice of his parliament and people, was making vaft preparations for opening the enfuing campaign, when a fall from his horfe threw him into a fever, which put a period to his life, but not his bold defigns[3]. He was a prince of great vigour of mind, firmnefs of temper, and intrepidity of fpirit; but ungraceful in his perfon and addrefs, difguftingly cold in his manner, and dry, filent, and folitary in his humour. To a happy concurrence of circumftances, and a fteady perfeverance in his plans, rather than to any extraordinary talents, either in a civil or military capacity, he owed that high reputation and extenfive influence, which he fo long enjoyed among the princes of Chriftendom. He was, however, an able politician, and a good foldier, though not a great commander. He has been feverely, and juftly blamed, for thofe intrigues, which he employed to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law. But as William's heart feems to have been as dead to the fympathetic feelings, as his foul was infenfible to the charms of literature and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is poffi-

2. Burnet, book vi. *Journals*, Jan. 10. 1702. 3. Burnet, ubi fup.

ble

PART II. A.D. 1702.

ble that, while guiding the great political fyftem, he might be led by the illufions of ambition, under the appearance of principle, to think the ties of blood, and even the right of inheritance, a neceffary facrifice to the welfare of Europe and the interefts of the reformed religion. England, at leaft, was obliged to him for abetting her caufe, in her grand ftruggle for liberty and a Proteftant Succeffion. But fhe has dearly paid for thofe bleffings, by being involved in wafting foreign wars, partly indeed rendered neceffary by the fupinenefs of her two preceding princes, but in which fhe ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the infamous practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to fupport thofe wars; and by their unavoidable confequence, a grievous national debt, which, daily accumulating, and augmenting the weight of government, threatens us with the worft of evils [4].

THE death of the king of England threw the allies into the utmoft confternation, and occafioned the higheft joy at the court of France. But that joy was of fhort duration. The quiet fucceffion of Anne,

4. A certain proportion of public debt, by increafing circulation, and creating a new fpecies of money, always ready to be employed in any beneficial undertaking, by means of its transferable quality, and yet producing fome profit, even while it lies idle, is fuppofed to be of advantage to a trading people. But what that proportion may be, no politician has hitherto pretended to determine. It is however certain, that the national debt of England has long exceeded, not only all calculations of commercial benefit, but what it was thought, as late as the middle of the prefent century, the kingdom could poffibly bear; and that the enormous taxes, levied to pay the intereft of that debt, by enhancing the price of the neceffaries of life, of labour, and confequently of every fpecies of manufacture, have hurt the fale of our commodities in foreign markets; have ftrengthened the enflaving influence of the crown, by increafing the number of its dependents, if not broke in fome meafure the free fpirit of the people, by multiplying their neceffities.

princefs

princess of Denmark, eldest surviving daughter of James II. to the English throne, conformable to the Act of Settlement, and her early declaration of her resolution to pursue the objects of the Grand Alliance, revived the spirits of the confederates; while the choice of her ministers, and the vigour of their measures, blasted all the hopes that Lewis and the court of St. Germains had founded on the decease of William. Lord Godolphin was placed at the head of the treasury; and the earl of Marlborough, whose eldest daughter was married to Godolphin's son, and whose wife had acquired an absolute ascendant over the queen, was appointed commander in chief of the English forces in Flanders, and immediately dispatched to Holland, in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the States[5].

LETTER XXI.

A.D. 1702.

THUS connected by family interest, as well as political views, these two great men conducted with harmony the affairs of England, and even acquired a more decided influence on the continent than had ever been possessed by William. They not only kept more compact and entire all the parts of that vast machine, the Grand Alliance, but communicated a more rapid and vigorous motion to the whole. The earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negociation with the States: he animated them to a full exertion of their strength; and gained so far on their confidence, that they raised him to the chief command of their troops. All the allies engaged, with alacrity, to furnish their several quotas; and war was declared against France, on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna[6].

5. Burnet, book vii. 6. Id. ibid.

PART II.
A.D. 1702.

THE first campaign, however, was not distinguished by any great event. In Italy, the Imperialists, under prince Eugene, being outnumbered by the combined armies of France and Spain, gained no advantage. There Philip V. (having left the government of his new kingdom in the hands of the queen, assisted by a council, and passed into Naples) nominally commanded in person[7]; and but nominally, all the operations being really directed by the duke de Vendome. His presence, however, inspired confidence into his troops; and prince Eugene was not only forced to raise the blockade of Mantua, but in some degree worsted, in an attempt to surprise Vendome near Luazzra[8].

THE Imperialists were not more successful on the Upper Rhine; where the prince of Baden, though elated with the taking of Landau, was defeated at Fridlengen, by the marquis de Villars, immediately after created a mareschal of France. "I have heard," says Voltaire, "mareschal Villars declare more than "once, that as he was marching at the head of his in-"fantry, after the battle was gained, a voice called "*We are undone!* On hearing this, all his troops fled. "He ran after them, crying, *Come back, my friends!* "*the victory is ours. Long live the king!* The trembling "soldiers repeated, *Long live the king!* but continued "to fly: and the marquis found the utmost difficulty "in rallying the conquerors[9]." On such trivial cir-

7. The parting of Philip and his young queen, himself as young, was preceded by many struggles of tenderness. One day, while both were bathed in tears, this amiable and accomplished princess hearing some of the courtiers ask the king, if he should pass the night with her, all her sensibility was roused, her presence of mind forsook her, and she passionately exclaimed, "Oh, my God! of the short time that remains to us, would they cut off even the nights?" *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

8. Hainault, 1702. 9. *Siecle*, chap. xvii.

cumstances

cumſtances often depend the iſſue of the greateſt battles. Had a ſingle regiment of Imperialiſts appeared during this panic, the French, ſo lately victorious, would have been totally routed. LETTER XXI. A. D. 1702.

The houſe of Bourbon was leſs fortunate on the ſide of Flanders. The allies began the campaign with the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, which the elector of Cologne had placed in the hands of the French, and which ſurrendered after a ſiege of two months. The duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army, having under him mareſchal Boufflers, it was expected would either have attempted the relief of that important place, or have inveſted ſome other; but, by a ſtrange piece of miſconduct, he lay almoſt totally inactive during the whole ſiege, and till the earl of Marlborough arrived to take the command of the allied army[10]. Marlborough, who was no leſs prudent than active, and who may be ſaid to have united the enterpriſing ſpirit of the hero to the caution and foreſight of the conſummate general, reſolved immediately to attack the duke of Burgundy: and had he not been reſtrained by the timidity of the field-deputies of the States, he would have gained a complete victory over the French[11]. Though thus confined in his operations, the Engliſh commander contrived by maſterly movements, by marches and counter-marches, to throw himſelf between the enemy and the principal towns of Spaniſh Guelderland; where he reduced ſucceſſively, and without moleſtation, Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege; conqueſts of the

10. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

11. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. "We were poſted in ſuch a manner," ſays the duke of Berwick, "that we ſhould have been beaten without "being able to ſtir: our left being very high, and our right ſunk into "a cul-de-ſac between two rivulets." *Mem.* ubi ſup.

PART II. A. D. 1702. greateſt importance, as by the acquiſition of thoſe places the navigation of the Maeſe was opened, and a free communication with Maeſtricht[12].

THE operations at ſea were even more favourable to the allies, than thoſe by land; though not in all reſpects equal to their hopes. The confederate fleet, under Sir George Rooke, conſiſting of fifty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips of the line, with twelve thouſand troops on board, commanded by the duke of Ormond, appeared before Cadiz, and ſummoned that city to ſurrender to the houſe of Auſtria, or run the hazard of an attack from ſuch a formidable armament. But the governor paid no regard to this threat. The place was much ſtronger than the beſiegers expected; ſo that the duke of Ormond found it neceſſary to re-embark his troops after they had taken fort St. Catherine, made an unſucceſsful attempt on fort Matagorda, and pillaged port St. Mary, contrary to his expreſs orders. His next attempt was more fortunate.

THE confederates, after leaving Cadiz, ſailed for Vigo, where the galleons, under convoy of twenty-three French ſhips of war, commanded by the count de Chateau-Renaud, were juſt arrived from America. As the wealth on board theſe galleons was conſidered as the chief reſource of the Spaniſh monarchy, and even of the whole houſe of Bourbon, Lewis XIV. expecting to ſhare in it, the utmoſt precaution had been taken to ſecure them[13]. They were carried up into a baſon, through a narrow entrance, one ſide of which was defended by a fort, the other by platforms mounted with cannon. A boom was thrown acroſs the mouth of the baſon, and within the boom the

12. Id. ibid.

13. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

A. D. 1702.

the French squadron was drawn up. But all these obstacles were not sufficient to discourage the confederates, when animated by the hopes of so rich a booty. The duke of Ormond having landed part of his troops, took the castle: the boom was broken by the fleet; and the French admiral perceiving, that all farther resistance would be vain, set fire to his ships. The galleons followed the desperate example; but the English and Dutch were at hand, to extinguish the flames. Six ships of war were taken, seven sunk, and nine burnt. Of thirteen galleons, nine fell into the hands of the conquerors, and four were destroyed; and although the greater part of the treasure had been landed, and carried to Lago, the booty was immense, and the consternation of the house of Bourbon excessive [14].

Before intelligence of this important blow arrived in England, both houses of parliament had congratulated her majesty on the success of her arms, under the earl of Marlborough, who was soon after created a duke, and liberal supplies were voted for carrying on the war. The good humour of the parliament was increased, by the news of the destruction of the enemy's fleet at Vigo: the hopes of the nation ran high; the most vigorous preparations were made, and the affairs of the allies every where wore a very favourable aspect. The duke of Savoy, who

14. Id. ib. Burnet, book vii. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii. Lewis XIV. who combined, with the most insatiable and bloody ambition, a strange mixture of piety and resignation, writes thus in a consolatory letter to the queen of Spain, then at the head of the government:—"Events are in the hands of God, who often draws good out "of what we consider as our greatest misfortunes. If it is possible to "prevent the bad effects of that disaster which has happened, your ma- "jesty has prevented them." *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

PART I. A.D. 1703. Jan. 5. had been long wavering, openly deserted the interests of France and Spain, and concluded a treaty with the emperor, to the astonishment of the house of Bourbon; he being not only a grandson of Lewis XIII. but father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. From motives of interest, Peter VI. king of Portugal, also united himself to the confederates[15].

To the defection of those two princes, the French ascribed their subsequent misfortunes in the war. Lewis XIV. however, made great preparations for opening the next campaign, and was by no means wanting in success. Meantime the elector of Bavaria, the firm ally of France, carried on hostilities with vigour in the heart of Germany. He took Neuburg, on the Danube, early in the season: he defeated the Imperialists at Passau; and having taken Burglenfield
April 12. and Ratisbon, was joined at Dutlingen by mareschal Villars. Afterward disappointed in an attempt to enter Tyrol, and open a communication with the French army in Italy, he rejoined Villars in Suabia. They crossed the Danube; and Villars understanding that the count de Styrum, at the head of twenty thousand men, was on his march to join the formidable army of the prince of Baden, near Donawert, said to the elector, "We must prevent this: we must advance, and attack Styrum." The elector hesitated, and said he would consult with his ministers and generals. "I am your minister and general!" replied Villars:—"Can you want any other counsel than mine, when the question is about giving battle?"—Full of apprehensions for his dominions, the elector was still averse from the mareschal's proposal, and not a little displeased at his freedom.

15. Burnet. Voltaire.

"Well!"

"Well!" ſaid Villars, "if your highneſs will not "ſeize this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will "engage with the French only:—it muſt not be loſt." He accordingly ordered his troops to march; and the elector, though filled with indignation, found himſelf under the neceſſity of fighting againſt his judgment[16]. They attacked the enemy in the plains of Hochſtet, and gained a complete victory. Three thouſand of the Imperialiſts were killed; four thouſand were made priſoners; and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors. The victorious army put the elector of Bavaria in poſſeſſion of Augſburg; and the road to Vienna being thus laid open, the emperor trembled in his capital[17]. Sept. 20.

The conſternation of Leopold was, in ſome meaſure, excuſable. The duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army on the ſide of Alſace, having under him the mareſchals Tallard and Vauban, had made himſelf maſter of Old Briſac; and Tallard, before the end of the campaign, not only retook Landau, but defeated, with great ſlaughter, an army of the allies, under the prince of Heſſe, who was advancing to its relief[18]. In Italy, where Staremberg commanded for the emperor, the duke de Vendome diſarmed, by ſurpriſe, the troops of the duke of Savoy; reduced Barſillio, defeated Viſconti, and took poſſeſſion of the territories of the duke of Modena[19].

The French were leſs ſucceſsful in the Netherlands; where the duke of Marlborough, having concerted meaſures with the States, was enabled to ap-

16. Theſe particulars are related by Voltaire, from the manuſcript *Memoirs of Mareſchal Villars*, written by himſelf. *Siecle*, chap. xvii.
17. Id. ibid. 18. Burnet. Voltaire. Henault. 19. Ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1703. pear early in the field. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Bonne, a ſtrong city in the circle of the Lower Rhine, and the uſual reſidence of the elector of Cologne. That prince, brother to the elector of Bavaria, had placed Bonne, with his other dominions, in the hands of the French at the beginning of the war. Though gallantly defended by the marquis d'Alegre, it was forced to ſurrender, after a
May 15. ſiege of twelve days. But notwithſtanding this early ſucceſs, and the ſuppoſed weakneſs of the enemy, Marlborough found it impracticable to penetrate into Flanders; the French army, under the mareſchals Boufflers and Villeroy, keeping cautiouſly within their lines, and the Engliſh general not judging it prudent to attempt to force them [20]. He therefore marched back toward the Maeſe, where he took Huy and Limburg. And Gueldres, after a blockade and bombardment of near eighteen months, alſo ſurrendered to the allies [21].

THESE acquiſitions, however, were by no means a balance to the advantages of the enemy in other quarters; more eſpecially as the operations of the allies at ſea, during the ſummer, had been languid and undeciſive; in ſome reſpects unfortunate; and their negligence ſo great, that the Spaniſh treaſure from the Havanna, the joint produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, had arrived ſafe, under convoy of a French fleet, and furniſhed the houſe of Bourbon with freſh reſources for continuing the war. But the confederates were not diſcouraged by their loſſes; nor by an inſurrection in Hungary, which ſpread devaſtation to the gates of Vienna. The Engliſh parliament, ſeized with a kind of military fury, voted

20. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. Burnet, book vii. 21. Id. ibid.

the

the most liberal supplies for the ensuing campaign; and the emperor, emboldened by the alliance of Portugal, from which a passage might be opened into the heart of the disputed monarchy, made his son Charles assume the title of King of Spain, he himself and the King of the Romans renouncing all claim to any part of the succession. Immediately after this ambitious step the archduke set out for the Hague. From Holland, he passed over to England; where he was treated with great respect, and conducted to Lisbon by a powerful fleet, having on board a considerable body of land forces[22].

WHILE the queen of England was exerting herself with so much vigour in a foreign quarrel, in which her subjects were little interested, the greatest disorders prevailed in her own dominions. The ferment in Scotland, occasioned by the miscarriage of the settlement at Darien, had never yet fully subsided; and although that kingdom readily acknowledged the queen's authority, the hottest jealousies there prevailed, among all ranks of men, respecting the independency of their crown, and the freedom of their commerce. These jealousies were fomented by the insidious arts of the Jacobites, and the intrigues of the court of St. Germains, aided by a political oversight.

WHEN the English legislature settled the succession of the crown on the house of Hanover, king William had neglected to take the same precaution in regard to Scotland; so that the succession to that crown was still open. This circumstance was now eagerly seized by two sets of men:—by the adherents of the house of Stuart, who hoped to bring in the pretended prince of Wales;

22 Burnet. Voltaire.

and

PART II. A.D. 1703.

and by ſome real patriots, who meant to make uſe of it, in order to reſcue their country from that abject dependence, and even ſlavery, into which it had fallen, and in which it had continued, ever ſince its native ſovereigns had added the weight of the crown of England to their ancient prerogative. Beſide theſe men, many others, who were well diſpoſed toward the proteſtant ſucceſſion, zealouſly oppoſed the ſettlement of the Scottiſh crown on the deſcendants of the princeſs Sophia, before the ratification of certain articles, which ſhould provide for the independency of the kingdom, or unite it intimately with England [23].

NOR was the Engliſh nation free from diſcontents. The queen, by throwing herſelf entirely into the hands of the Tories, had rouſed the reſentment of the Whigs, who were in a manner proſcribed, and debarred from office: and an ardent deſire of accompliſhing the purpoſe of the Grand Alliance, which they themſelves had formed, only had prevented them hitherto from obſtructing the meaſures of government. But their patience, under neglect, was at laſt worn out: they became jealous, and not without reaſon, of deſigns againſt the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The Tories, intoxicated with their good fortune, had revived all the exploded high monarchical and high-church principles; and conjecturing that the queen muſt naturally be diſpoſed to favour the ſucceſſion of her brother, ſeveral of her miniſters held a ſecret correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, and hopes were even entertained by that court of obtaining a ſpeedy repeal of the Act of Settlement [24].

IN order to forward theſe views, and to complete the ruin of their political opponents, the Tories pre-

23. Lockhart's *Mem.* Burnet, book vii. 24 *Stuart Papers.*

tended,

A.D. 1703.

'tended, that both the church and monarchy were in danger, from the prevalence of republican and presbyterian principles; and a bill againſt occaſional conformity, which would have excluded all diſſenters, and conſequently a great number of the Whigs, from all civil offices and public employments, was twice preſented to parliament, and as often rejected [25]. The failure of this favourite meaſure, and ſeveral other circumſtances, indicating the ſtrength of the Whigs, induced Marlborough and Godolphin, who are ſaid to have been Tories, and even Jacobites in their hearts, to conceal their ſentiments, and ſeek ſupport from that powerful party. They foreſaw a formidable oppoſition, and perſuaded the queen, that it was neceſſary to diſpel the ſtorm, by bringing ſome of the more moderate Whigs into adminiſtration, and diſmiſſing a few of the moſt violent Tories [26]. Mr. Harley, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, afterward created earl of Oxford, and reputed a Whig, becauſe bred a diſſenter, was accordingly appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Nottingham; the office of comptroller-general was beſtowed on his friend, Mr. Manſel; and, at his recommendation, Mr. St. John, ſince better known by the title of lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, was advanced, while very young, to the lucrative place of ſecretary at war [27].

A.D. 1704.

THIS expedient, however, would have been found inſufficient to ſecure the miniſtry againſt the violence of the Whigs, had not the extraordinary ſucceſs of the next campaign ſilenced all oppoſition. Marlborough having concerted with the miniſters of the States, during the winter, the plan of operations, ſet out early in the ſpring to carry it into execution.

25. Burnet, book vii. 26. *Hanover Papers*, 1704. 27. Ibid.

As

PART II. A. D. 1704.

As the ſucceſs of the two foregoing campaigns, by making the allies maſters of the Maiſe and Spaniſh Guelderland, had provided a ſtrong barrier for the United Provinces, the Engliſh general propoſed to march into the heart of Germany; in order to protect the emperor, now almoſt beſieged in his capital, by the Hungarian malcontents, on one ſide, and by the French and Bavarians, on the other. In purſuance of this deſign, but under colour of penetrating into France, he ordered the confederate forces to march towards Coblentz, where he joined them. Croſſing the Rhine at that place, and ſucceſſively the Maine and the Neckar, he was met by prince Eugene at Mondelſheim.

The reſult of the conference between theſe two great generals, was a junction of the allied army under Marlborough, with the Imperialiſts, commanded by the prince of Baden. That junction being effected, Marlborough forced, though with the loſs of five thouſand men, the elector of Bavaria's entrenchments near Donawert, and obliged him to quit the field. In conſequence of this victory, the allies got poſſeſſion of Donawert, and obtained a free paſſage over the Danube. But as they were incapable, for want of magazines, either to continue long on the banks of that river, or to penetrate into Bavaria, their ſituation was become very precarious, and they eagerly wiſhed to give battle; when the enemy, being reinforced with thirty thouſand men, under mareſchal Tallard, reſolved to afford them the opportunity they deſired. Before the engagement, the duke of Marlborough was alſo joined by prince Eugene, with twenty thouſand men, from the Upper Rhine; and, in order to free himſelf from the timid or treacherous

June 2.

coun-

counſels of the prince of Baden, he prevailed on him to beſiege Ingolſtadt. The oppoſing armies were now nearly equal, each conſiſting of about eighty thouſand men[28]. But the French generals, Tallard and Marſin, though men of experience and abilities, were much inferior to thoſe of the allies; and the elector of Bavaria, though a brave prince, could not be conſidered as a commander.

THE French and Bavarians were advantageouſly poſted on a hill, having the Danube and the village of Blenheim on their right: on their left, an extenſive and thick wood, from which ran a rivulet, along their front into the Danube. This rivulet, in its courſe through the plain, formed an almoſt continued moraſs, the paſſage of which might have been rendered very difficult, if it had been properly guarded. Twenty-eight battalions, and twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, were thrown into the village of Blenheim: eight battalions were alſo placed in another village toward the centre; in order to fall, in conjunction with thoſe at Blenheim, upon the rear of the enemy, when they ſhould paſs the rivulet. Their line, which conſiſted chiefly of cavalry, was weakened by theſe detachments; and by an unaccountable negligence, the allies were permitted not only to paſs the brook, but to form without oppoſition[29].

MARLBOROUGH, who commanded the left wing of the allies, having firſt paſſed the brook, ordered the two villages to be attacked by the infantry, while he himſelf led his cavalry againſt thoſe of Tallard. The attack on the villages proved unſucceſsful; the Eng- August 13.

28. *Mem. du Marq. de Feuquieres.* 29. Id ibid. See alſo Kane's *Campaigns.*

lish

PART II. A.D. 1704. lish and Hessians being repulsed, after three successive attempts. The French horse, however, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to give ground. They retired behind the fire of ten battalions, which Tallard had ordered to advance to their relief. But these also were broken by the English foot. Marlborough charged home with his horse; and drove the French cavalry with such precipitation from the field, that most of those who escaped the sword were drowned in the Danube. The ten advanced battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the same time, charged on all sides, and cut in pieces. Tallard himself was taken prisoner, together with many other officers of distinction.

MEANWHILE prince Eugene, who commanded the right wing of the confederates, after having been thrice repulsed, had broken the French and Bavarians, under the elector and Marsin; and though they could scarce be said to have been routed, they no sooner heard of Tallard's defeat, than they left the field, with every mark of hurry and disgrace. The twenty-eight battalions of foot, and twelve squadrons of dragoons, in the village of Blenheim, all veterans, and the best troops in France, were now abandoned to their fate. After a vigorous, but ineffectual sally, they found themselves obliged to surrender at discretion [30].—Such, my dear Philip, was the famous battle of Blenheim, in which the French and Bavarians, including killed and taken, lost near forty thousand men. Their camp-equiqage, baggage, artillery, and every trophy that can distinguish a complete victory, fell into the hands of the conquerors. These trophies, however, were not acquired without considerable loss of blood. The allies

30 Feuquieres. Burnet. Voltaire. 31. Ibid.

had

had five thousand men killed, and near eight thousand wounded [31].

LETTER XXI.

A. D. 1704.

As no modern victory, between disciplined armies, was ever more decisive than this, none could be followed by more sudden or important consequences. The emperor was relieved from his fears; the Hungarian malcontents were over-awed; and the conquests and dominions of the elector of Bavaria fell, at once, into the hands of Leopold, who revenged severely on the subjects of that prince, the excesses which had been committed on his own. An extent of seventy leagues of country was exposed to all the ravages of war. Broken, ruined and dispersed, the forces of Lewis XIV. left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates from the Danube to the Rhine; and the wretched remains of that army, which at the beginning of the season had spread terror to the gates of Vienna, was obliged to take shelter within the frontiers of France. The victors crossed the Rhine: they entered Alsace; and the important fortresses of Landau and Trierbach surrendered to them before the close of the campaign [32].

But the same good fortune, which attended the arms of the confederates in Germany, did not extend to every scene of operations. In Flanders, during this summer, the war being merely defensive, produced no event either brilliant or important. On the Portuguese side of Spain, the archduke, who had assumed the title of Charles III. was able to make no progress. On the contrary, Philip V. assisted by the duke of Berwick, carried the war into Portugal; took several places, and defeated all the attempts of the

31. Ibid. 32. Voltaire. Tindal. Burnet.

allies

PART II. A.D. 1704.

allies to invade Castile[33]. In Italy, the campaign proved, upon the whole, favourable to the house of Bourbon. The castle of Suza, the city of Pignerol, Vercelli, Yvrea, and Sansano, were reduced by Vendome[34].

The operations at sea during this memorable year, were scarcely less important than those by land. The combined fleet of England and Holland, which carried the archduke to Lisbon, having failed in an attempt upon Barcelona, where a party was supposed to have been formed for the house of Austria, appeared before Gibraltar; and that strong fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable, was taken at the first assault. Astonished at the intrepidity of the English sailors, who ascended the mole sword in hand, the governor immediately surrendered the place; which was committed to the

33. Notwithstanding these important services, the duke of Berwick was recalled. Of this matter, he gives the following curious account. "The duke of Gramont, the French minister at Madrid, had taken it "into his head that he was to govern there as despotically as the cardi-"nals Richelieu and Mazarine had formerly done in France. I had no "objection to this, with respect to the civil department, but in the "military, I was resolved that he should not have the same sway; think-"ing it reasonable that I should be consulted in every thing, and even "that my plans should be adopted, as I must be answerable for the suc-"cess of the whole. From these contrary humours it followed, that "Gramont took upon him to order every thing, without consulting or "communicating with me; and I, on the other hand, steady to my "principle, refused to execute any enterprize of which I did not ap-"prove." The duke's recall was the consequence of this commendable pride.

When the marechal de Tessé, who succeededto the chief command in Spain, arrived at Madrid, he naturally enquired of the queen if she had not reason to be satisfied with the campaign which the duke of Berwick had made. She said he was much esteemed, and had rendered great service to the kingdom. "Why then," answered Tessé, "have you had "him recalled?"—"If I must tell you," replied the queen peevishly, "he is a great obstinate devil of an Englishman, who will always have "his own way." Berwick's *Mem.* tom. i.

34. Henault. 1704.

care

care of the prince of Heffe Darmftadt, for the queen of England. [35]. LETTER XXI. A. D. 1704.

Nor was the acquifition of this great key of the Mediterranean, the only advantage refulting from the enterprife. Part of the Spanifh army employed in Portugal being withdrawn, for the purpofe of re-taking Gibraltar, a ftop was by that means put to the progrefs of Philip V. who might otherwife have advanced to the gates of Lifbon; and the French fleet, to the number of fifty-two fhips of the line, under the count de Touloufe, coming to the aid of the befiegers, was defeated off Malaga, by the combined fleet, commanded by Sir George Rook and Calemberg, the Dutch admiral. The force on both fides was nearly equal, and the battle was obftinate and bloody, though no fhip was either funk or taken. This was partly owing to the interpofition of night, and partly to the fhifting of the wind, which enabled the French to elude all the endeavours of the confederates to renew the engagement[36]. Lewis XIV. affected, however, to claim the victory. But it was obvious to all Europe, that the combined fleet kept the fea; and that the French took refuge in their own ports, inftead of lending any affiftance to the Spaniards before Gibraltar.

These fortunate events, but more efpecially the memorable victory obtained at Blenheim, which was juftly afcribed to Englifh valour, diffufed a general joy over the nation. This joy communicated itfelf to the reprefentatives of the people, who granted very liberal fupplies for profecuting the war, with the utmoft readinefs; and the whole bufinefs of parlia-

35. Burnet, book vii. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol iii. 36. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1704. ment was not only conducted with harmony but carried forward with zeal and expedition. Pleased with the humiliation of the house of Bourbon, the Whigs, instead of opposing the ministry, used every endeavour to engage the duke of Marlborough in their cause; and Godolphin, either from policy, or principle, threw himself entirely into their hands.

A.D. 1705. The queen dissolved the parliament; and the Whigs, whose principles recommended them to the independent part of the kingdom, having the countenance of government, and the support of the moneyed interest, obtained a decided majority in the new house of commons. The elections went generally in their favour, notwithstanding the clamour raised by the Tories of the danger of the church, and the growth of Presbyterianism. Both houses now passed a vote, That the church was in a safe and flourishing condition, and that whoever should suggest that the established religion was in danger, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. They also, to the great disappointment of the Tories, already mortified by the foregoing vote, repealed two severe laws against the commerce and people of Scotland, in order to induce the parliament of that kingdom to settle the crown on the house of Hanover, as well as to listen to proposals for a treaty of union with England [37]; measures highly necessary to the welfare of both kingdoms, and essential to the security of the Protestant Succession.

WHILE the English parliament was taking these prudent steps for securing the peace of the kingdom, as well as for prosecuting the war with vigour, France

37. Journals 1705. Burnet, book vii.

was

was not only depreffed by external misfortunes, but diftracted by internal commotions. Though the Hugonots were chiefly exterminated, or induced, from motives of fear or intereft, to conform to the eftablifhed religion, by the rewards that were held out to them, and the fevere perfecution which they had fuffered, both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, yet many of them had taken refuge in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the fouth of France, where they led a favage life along with the rude natives, under the name of Camifards, and enjoyed their religion in a ftate of barbarity. Like zealots of all fects, when ignorant and perfecuted, they believed themfelves to be the peculiar favourites of heaven, and laid claim to the higheft gifts of infpiration. They had their prophets and propheteffes, who affumed an abfolute authority over them, and are faid to have excited them to the moft atrocious cruelties, both againft the catholics and the refractory part of their own fect[38].

LETTER XXI.

A.D. 1705.

AT length, encouraged by thefe vifionaries, by their increafing numbers, and by the promifes of the confederates, the Camifards, on the commencement of the war, in 1701, began to mingle politics with their religion. They demanded "liberty of confcience, "and an exemption from taxes!" and took arms to

38. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. "I have heard marefchal "Villiers relate," fays Voltaire, "that, afking Cavalier, the moft con- "fiderable of their chiefs, How, at his years, being little above twenty, "he could acquire fo much authority over a headftrong undifciplined "rabble? he replied, that whenever they refufed to obey, his pro- "phetefs (known among them by the name of the *Great Mary*) was "inftantly feized with a fit of infpiration, and condemned the refrac- "tory to the punifhment of death, without any form of trial. And "having myfelf," adds the hiftorian, "put the fame queftion to Cava- "lier, he returned the fame anfwer." *Siecle*, chap. xxxii.

fupport

PART II. A.D. 1705.

ſupport their pretenſions. Several generals were ſent againſt them, with various ſucceſs, and among others the celebrated mareſchal Villars; who, after making them ſenſible of his power, entered into treaty with them, in 1704. But they, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the court, broke off the negociation, when it was almoſt finiſhed; and Villars being recalled, in order to enter on a more important ſcene of action, the duke of Berwick was diſpatched againſt them, on his return from Spain. As ſeverity was now become as neceſſary as it was formerly impolitic, the duke exerciſed it without reſerve, and ſoon reduced the Camiſards to obedience [39].

Lewis XIV. although deſtitute of that ſuperior magnanimity which is never vainly elated, and which can calmly look down on the higheſt ſucceſs, poſſeſſed in an eminent degree that Chriſtian fortitude which enables the ſoul to bear misfortunes with compoſure and reſignation. Though accuſtomed to victory, he received the intelligence of the ruin of his army at Blenheim, without any marks of confuſion, and took the moſt vigorous ſteps for repairing his loſs, as well

39. For this ſeverity, the duke of Berwick makes the following manly apology; "Aſſiſted by the underſtanding and advice of M. de "Baſville, one of the moſt ſenſible men in France, I made it my bu"ſineſs to prevent every thing that might tend to excite commotions, and "declared, That I came neither as a perſecutor nor a miſſionary, but "with a reſolution to do equal juſtice to every one; to protect all who "ſhould behave themſelves as faithful ſubjects of the king, and to pu"niſh with the utmoſt rigour thoſe who ſhould dare to oppoſe his au"thority.—I know," adds he, "that attempts have been made in ma"ny countries, to blacken our proceedings againſt theſe people; but I "can proteſt as a man of honour, that there is no ſort of crimes of "which the Camiſards had not been guilty. To rebellion, ſacrilege, "murder, theft, and licentiouſneſs, they joined the moſt unheard of "cruelties; ſo far even as to have prieſts broiled, to rip out the bowels "of pregnant women, and to roaſt their children!" *Mem.* vol. i.

LETTER XXI.

A.D. 1705.

as for checking the progrefs of the victorious enemy. At the end of the campaign, however, he found that he had been ftript of great part of his former conquefts. But France, and even Flanders, was ftill entire; and as he underftood that the duke of Marlborough intended, next campaign, to carry the war, by the Mofelle, into the heart of his dominions, he affembled, on that fide, an army of feventy thoufand men, under the command of marefchal Villars. The Englifh general having croffed the Mofelle and the Saar, in the month of May, paffed the defile of Taveren, and advanced to Delft. But not being joined by the prince of Baden, as he expected, he was obliged to retreat: and fo mafterly was the conduct of Villars, his antagonift, that he was not able to effect any enterprize of confequence during the campaign[40].

Though the emperor Leopold, whofe death made no change in the political fyftem of the confederates, was fucceeded in the imperial throne by his fon Jofeph, King of the Romans, a prince of greater vigour and abilities, the fluggifhnefs of the Germanic body, and the obftinacy of the prince of Baden, prevented the allied army from making any progrefs on the fide of Flanders. In Italy, the French ftill maintained their fuperiority. The duke de Vendome took Villa Franca and Verue: he repulfed the Imperialifts, under prince Eugene, in attempting to force the paffage of the Adda, at the bridge of Caffano; and the duke of Savoy, no longer able to keep the field, was obliged to fhut himfelf up in Turin, without any profpect of relief[41].

40. Burnet Voltaire. Hainault. 41. Ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1705.

THE confederates were more fortunate in Spain. The marefchal de Teffé, after lofing a vaft number of men, was forced to raife the fiege of Gibraltar; and he had alfo the mortification, a few days before he abandoned the enterprize, to behold a French fleet that was come to his affiftance, under the famous de Pontis, defeated, and chiefly taken or deftroyed, by an Englifh fquadron, commanded by fir John Leake. Encouraged by thefe favourable events, the confederates entered the enemy's country, on the frontiers of Beira and Alantejo, and reduced the principal places in the province of Eftramadura. In other quarters they were ftill more fuccefsful. An Englifh fleet, conducted by Sir Cloudefly Shovel, carrying five thoufand land forces, under the celebrated earl of Peterborough, being joined at Lifbon by Sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral Allemande, and reinforced with fome troops from the confederate army in Portugal, took on board the archduke, and failed for the coaft of Catalonia, where he was fuppofed to have many friends. Alarmed at the appearance of fuch a formidable force, the Spaniards, in general, declared for the houfe of Auftria. The fortreffes of Lerida and Tortofa were yielded without a blow: Barcelona, though furnifhed with a garrifon of five thoufand men, under the duke de Popoli, was obliged to furrender, and almoft the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia, fubmitted to Charles III.[42]

THE particulars of the fiege of Barcelona, as related by Voltaire, are too much for the honour of this country to be omitted by an Englifh hiftorian. The earl of Peterborough, fays he, a man in every ref-

42. Burnet, book vii. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

pect

pect resembling those imaginary heroes that the Spaniards have represented in their romances, proposed to the prince of Hesse Darmstadt to force, sword in hand, the entrenchments which covered fort-Montjouy and the town. The enterprize was accordingly executed with success; but with the loss of the brave prince of Hesse, who was killed in the attack. The garrison, however, still held out; when a bomb, directed at Montjouy, happening to enter the powder-magazine, it blew up with a terrible explosion, and the fort instantly surrendered. The town soon after offered to capitulate; and the duke de Popoli, the governor, came to the gate, in order to adjust the articles with Peterborough. But before they were signed, tumultuous shouts were heard, "You be-"tray us!" exclaimed Popoli. "Whilst we, with "honour and sincerity, are here treating with you, "your troops have entered the town by the ramparts, "and are murdering, plundering, and committing "every species of violence."

"You are mistaken," replied Peterborough:—"These must be the troops of the prince of Darmstadt. "There is only one expedient left to save your town: "allow me freely to enter it with my Englishmen. I "will soon make all quiet, and come back to conclude "the capitulation." These words he uttered with an air of dignity and truth, which, joined to a sense of present danger, induced the governor to comply. Attended by some of his officers, he hastened into the streets, where the licentious soldiery, but more especially the Germans and Catalans, were pillaging the houses of the principal inhabitants. He drove them from their prey: he obliged them to give up even the booty they had seized; and he happily res-

PART II. A. D. 1705. cued from their hands the duchefs de Popoli, when on the point of being difhonoured, and reftored her to her hufband[43]. In a word, after having quelled every appearance of diforder in the town, he returned to the gate, and finifhed the capitulation with the governor;—to the utter aftonifhment of the Spaniards, at finding fo much honour and generofity in a people, whom they had hitherto been accuftomed to confider only as mercilefs heretics[44].

THESE acquifitions, and fplendid achievements in Spain, fo flattering to the pride of the Englifh nation, made the people, and even the parliament, eager to profecute the war, notwithftanding the fmall fuccefs in other quarters. Nor was the houfe of Bourbon lefs difpofed to vigorous meafures. The check given to the confederates on the Mofelle, joined to the rapid progrefs of the French arms in Italy, having elated anew the fpirit of Lewis XIV. he rafhly refolved, during the enfuing campaign, to act offenfively in the Low Countries; at the fame time that he fhould ftrip the duke of Savoy of his dominions, fupport his grandfon in Spain, and maintain an army in Germany. And to all thefe attempts he was perhaps equal, had the abilities of his generals been adequate to the number and the valour of his troops. His hopes in regard to Savoy, at leaft, were by no means prefumptuous. The duke of Berwick had taken Nice in the beginning of the year: and Vendome having defeated the Imperialifts at Calcinato, A. D. 1706. in the month of April, ordered Turin to be invefted. On the fide of Germany, marefchal Villars juftified the confidence of his mafter, by driving the prince of

43. *Siecle*, chap. xix. 44. Id. ibid. Burnet mentions this tumult, but in a manner fomewhat different. (*Hift. Own Times*. book vii.) He was no friend to the earl of Peterborough.

Baden

Baden before him; and had not his army been weakened by detachments, in order to ſupply the loſſes occaſioned by the miſconduct of other commanders, he might have penetrated into the heart of the empire [45]. The ardour of mareſchal Villeroy, in Flanders, led the way to the future misfortunes of Lewis. LETTER XXI. A.D. 1706.

THE duke of Marlborough, having made every preparation for a vigorous campaign, joined the united army of England and Holland, between Brochloen and Groſſwaren, on the 20th of May. Mareſchal Villeroy, with a ſuperior army, had advanced to Tirlemont; and, ambitious of entering the liſts with Marlborough, he precipitately puſhed forward to Ramillies. On gaining the heights, where riſes the Little Geete, he perceived the allies in full march toward him, and immediately formed his army in order of battle. The Geete, and an impaſſable moraſs running along its banks, covered his left wing, and prevented it alike from being attacked and from charging the enemy: the village of Ramillies, ſituated in a plain near the ſource of the Geete, was oppoſed before his centre, which conſiſted entirely of infantry: the village of Tavieres, on the banks of the Mehaign, covered his right wing; and an open and level ſpace, between Tavieres and Ramillies, about a mile and a half in length, was filled with an hundred ſquadrons of horſe [46].

SUCH was the diſpoſition of the French forces in the battle of Ramillies, and ſuch the ground on which it was fought. Marlborough, perceiving the defects of that diſpoſition, ordered a feigned attack to be made

45. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xix. Burnet, book vii. 46. *Mem. du Marq. de Fequieres.*

on

PART II.
A.D. 1706.

on the left wing of the enemy; and although this was utterly impracticable, it ſerved to confuſe Villeroy, and to prevent him from bringing the troops of that wing to ſupport his centre, on which the Engliſh general fell with all the foot that compoſed his own. The Dutch infantry, under Auverquerque, attacked at the ſame time the enemy's right wing. But the French ſtill making a gallant reſiſtance, Marlborough ordered all his cavalry to advance to the charge; and in leſs than half an hour, the whole centre of the enemy was broken and routed. The right wing alſo gave way before the Dutch, and confuſion, ſlaughter, and flight every where prevailed[47]. A complete victory remained to the allies, who took one hundred pieces of cannon, one hundred and twenty military trophies, and a great quantity of baggage, with the loſs of little more than two thouſand men, while the French loſt near twenty thouſand[48].

The total conqueſt of Brabant, and almoſt all Spaniſh Flanders, was the immediate conſequence of this victory. Louvain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, Oudenarde, and other places, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Oſtend, ſo famous for its long ſiege in the laſt century, put the firſt ſtop to the progreſs of the confederates. It was forced, however, to capitulate, after a ſiege of ten days. Even Menin, fortified according to the moſt perfect rules of art, and defended by a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, ſurrendered in three weeks; and the operations of the campaign were concluded with the taking of Ath and Dendermonde, the French not daring to attempt their relief[49].

47. Id. ibid. 48. Burnet, book vii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xx.
49. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

THE

LETTER XXI.
A. D. 1706.

THE consequences of the battle of Ramillies were not confined to Flanders: they extended even to Italy, where Lewis XIV. hoped the taking of Turin would afford some consolation for his losses in other quarters. The siege of this large and important city was committed to the duke de Feuillade, son-in-law to Chamillard, the minister for war, who furnished him with every thing that could possibly contribute to render such an undertaking successful; with one hundred and forty pieces of battering cannon; one hundred and ten thousand bullets; one hundred and six thousand cartouches of one sort, and three hundred thousand of another; twenty-one thousand bombs; twenty-seven thousand seven hundred grenades; fifteen thousand bags of earth; thirty thousand instruments for pioneering, and one million two hundred thousand pounds of powder; beside a vast quantity of lead, iron, tin, ropes, sulphur, saltpetre, and every thing requisite for miners[50]. The preparations, in a word, were such as startle the imagination; and Feuillade, being a man of courage and activity, conducted the operations with vigour, but contrary to all the rules of art. Having begun the attack on the strongest side, and neglected to surround the whole town, the inhabitants of the country could send supplies, both of men and provisions, to the garrison; so that all the ardour which he shewed, in many repeated assaults, served only to diminish the number of the besiegers[51]. The place, however, must at length have been taken, notwithstanding the blunders of Feuillade, but for one of those great events on which depend the fate of nations.

PRINCE Eugene was so situated, that it was thought he could not advance to succour Turin. He was on the

50. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xix.

51. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1706.

the east side of the Adige; and as that river, on the west side, was fortified with a long chain of entrenchments, the passage seemed impracticable. The besiegers consisted of forty-six squadrons and an hundred battalions. Vendome, in order to favour their operations, remained stationed on the banks of the Adige, from the 13th of May to the 20th of June. He had with him seventy battalions and sixty squadrons; and, with this force, he did not doubt but he should be able to obstruct the approach of prince Eugene.

But, unfortunately for the affairs of the house of Bourbon in Italy, Vendome was recalled, to collect the broken remains of Villeroy's army in Flanders; and, if possible, to stem the tide of misfortune in that quarter. Before his departure, however, he had found it impossible to prevent prince Eugene from passing the Adige, and even the Po. He was succeeded in the chief command by the duke of Orleans, nephew to Lewis XIV. assisted by the marefchal de Marsin, and other experienced officers. As prince Eugene had passed the Po, in spite of Vendome, he crossed the Tenaro, in sight of the duke of Orleans. He took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; and having stolen a march upon the French, he was joined, near Asti, by the duke of Savoy, who not chusing to shut himself up in his capital, had taken refuge in the vallies of Lucerne, amongst his protestant subjects, the Vadois, and occasionally annoyed the besiegers with a small body of cavalry.[52]

Nothing now remained for the duke of Orleans but to join Feuillade at the camp before Turin.

52. Voltaire, ubi sup. Burnet, book vii.

Prince

Prince Eugene followed him thither, with all expedition, determined to raiſe the ſiege. It therefore became neceſſary for the French now to reſolve, whether they ſhould wait for the enemy in their lines, or march out and meet him in the field. A council of war was accordingly called, conſiſting of the mareſchal de Marſin, the duke de Feuillade, Abbergotti, St. Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals. "If we remain "in our lines," ſaid the duke of Orleans, "we ſhall "certainly be defeated. They are fifty miles in "extent; and our numbers, though great, are not "ſufficient to defend them. The Doria, which runs "through our camp, will prevent our troops from "ſpeedily ſuccouring each other. And, in wait-"ing for an attack, the French loſe one of their "greateſt advantages; that vehemence, and thoſe "firſt movements of ardour, which ſo often deter-"mine the events of war. It is therefore, my opi-"nion, we ought to march againſt the enemy." All the lieutenant-generals, with one voice, replied, "Let "us march!" but the mareſchal de Marſin produced an order, ſigned by the king, commanding them not to offer, but to wait for battle[53].

THAT order, with which the duke of Orleans was obliged to comply, hurt his pride, and confuſed the meaſures of the French generals; who, being of different opinions, diſputed long, without coming to any fixed determination, how to act. Meanwhile prince Eugene, having made his diſpoſitions, fell ſuddenly on their entrenchments; and, after an obſtinate ſtruggle

53. Id. ibid. It was this timidity of the court of Verſailles which made prince Eugene ſay, in a complimentary letter to the duke of Marlborough, that he "felt the effects of the battle of Ramillies, even "in Italy." Burnet, book vii.

of

PART II. A.D. 1706. of two hours, entered their camp, drove them from all their posts, and took their cannon, baggage, ammunition, and military chest. The duke of Orleans was slightly wounded, and the mareschal de Marsin mortally. The whole French army was routed and dispersed; and, although the number of the killed did not exceed three thousand, such was the terror of the fugitives, that they retreated immediately toward Pignerol, and made the best of their way into Dauphiny [54]: so that the house of Bourbon lost, at one blow, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples.

The confederates, notwithstanding some unfavourable circumstances, were no less successful in Spain. The archduke Charles having established himself in that kingdom, during the winter, by the assistance of the English troops, under the earl of Peterborough, Philip V. and the mareschal de Tassé, advanced against him in the spring, with an army of twenty thousand men; and obliged him to take shelter in Barcelona, which they besieged, while the count de Toulouse, with a French fleet, blocked it up by sea. Fort Montjouy was taken; and the French and Spaniards were preparing for the assault of the town, a practicable breach being already made, when Sir John Leake, with a superior fleet, appearing on the coast, the count de Toulouse judged it prudent to retire in the night. A reinforcement was thrown into the place; and Philip V. and the mareschal de Tassé raised the siege with the utmost precipitation and disorder, leaving behind them their cannon, their provisions, and their implements

54. Burnet, Voltaire, Feuquieres, Hainault.

of

of war, with all their ſick and wounded men [55]. This diſorder was partly occaſioned by an almoſt total eclipſe of the ſun, which happened as they were marching off, and completed the confuſion of the ſuperſtitious Spaniards [56].

LETTER XXI.

A. D. 1706.

While Philip V. was returning in diſgrace to his capital, with his broken and ruined army, the Engliſh and Portugueſe, having entered Eſtramadura with forty thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Galway, and the marquis de las Minas, made themſelves maſter of Alcantara, Cividad Roderigo, Salamanca, and the port of Eſpinar. And the duke of Berwick, who was again appointed to the chief command in Spain, being too weak to obſtruct their progreſs, they directed their march, and penetrated, without reſiſtance, to Madrid. Philip was obliged to remove, with his court, to Burgos: and the Engliſh and Portugueſe, on the ſame day that they entered his capital in triumph, received intelligence, that the count de Santa Cruz had delivered Carthagena and the gallies into their hands.

The archduke was proclaimed king of Spain, under the name of Charles III. and had he advanced immediately to the ſeat of power, the Spaniſh crown would have been transferred for ever from the houſe of Bourbon. But he loitered unaccountably in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, while the Engliſh and Portugueſe diſſolved in ſloth and debauchery at Madrid. In the mean time, Philip V. having collected a ſuperior army, Galway and las Minas were forced to quit that city. The duke of Berwick hung cloſe on their

55. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii. Burnet, book vii. *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i.

56. Burnet, ubi ſup.

rear,

PART II. A.D. 1706. rear, and gained ſome advantages over them; yet they, having effected a junction with the earl of Peterborough and the archduke, paſſed ſafely into the kingdom of Valencia, and diſpoſed their quarters in ſuch a manner as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, and preſerve, at the ſame time, a free entrance into Caſtile. Carthagena, however, was retaken before the cloſe of the campaign. But that loſs was more than balanced by the acquiſition of the iſlands of Majorca and Ivica, which the Engliſh fleet, under Sir John Leake, ſubjected to the dominion of Charles III[57].

DURING theſe important tranſactions in the South and Weſt of Europe, the affairs of the North and Eaſt had undergone a conſiderable change. The progreſs of that revolution it muſt now be our buſineſs to trace; as it began, about this time, to threaten the confederates by its conſequences.

CHARLES XII. of Sweden, agreeable to that reſolution which he had formed of dethroning the king of Poland, by means of the diſcontents of his own ſubjects, entered into a ſecret correſpondence with Rajouſky, the cardinal-primate, who was active in rouſing the jealouſy of the nobles; ſo that Auguſtus II. found, on calling a diet, which broke up in a tumultuous manner, in February 1702, that the malecontents compoſed the majority of that aſſembly. The ſenate was not more loyally diſpoſed. Willing, therefore, to humble himſelf before the Swediſh monarch, rather than ſubmit to the inſolent demands of his factious ſubjects, Auguſtus attempted ſecretly to treat

57. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii. Burnet, book vii. *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i.

with

with that prince. But Charles, ſuſpecting his deſign, and ſtill burning with revenge, obſtinately refuſed to ſee the counteſs of Koningſmark, a Swediſh lady, who was intruſted with the negociation, while he received with the higheſt marks of reſpect an embaſſy from the ſenate. He aſſured the deputies, that he took arms againſt Auguſtus and the Saxons, not againſt the Poles, whom he ſhould ever eſteem his friends and allies. But inſtead of agreeing to a conference, as they propoſed, he only told them bluntly, that he would confer with them at Warſaw [58].

Charles accordingly marched toward that capital, which opened its gates to him on the firſt ſummons. The Poliſh nobility had chiefly retired to their country ſeats, and the king to Cracow. While Auguſtus was there aſſembling his forces, the cardinal-primate, whoſe treachery was yet undiſcovered, appeared among the few perſons of diſtinction who ſtill adhered to their ſovereign, and intimated to him, that the king of Sweden was believed to be very well inclined to liſten to terms of accommodation. And he humbly begged leave to wait on the terrible warrior for that purpoſe. His inſidious offer was accepted, and he and count Leczinſki had an audience of Charles in the neighbourhood of Warſaw. They found the Swediſh monarch clad in a coat of coarſe blue cloth, with braſs buttons, large jack-boots, and buck-ſkin gloves that reached to his elbows. After they had talked together ſtanding, for about a quarter of an hour, Charles put an end to the conference, by ſaying aloud, "I will never grant the "Poles peace, till they have elected a new king [59]!" The primate, who expected ſuch a declaration, ordered

58. Voltaire, *Hiſtory of Charles XII.* 59. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1706. it to be notified to all the Palatines; assuring them, that it gave him great concern, but representing, at the same time, the absolute necessity of complying with the request of the conquering Swede.

Augustus, on receiving this intelligence, saw that he must either relinquish his crown, or resolve to preserve it by force of arms: and he took the most vigorous measures for appealing to the decision of the sword. Having strengthened his Saxon guards, on which he placed his chief dependence, with the succours of the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, who still remained faithful to him, and also with that body of Polish troops which bore the name of the *Army of the Crown*, he marched in quest of the king of Sweden. Nor was he long in meeting with his antagonist, that prince having already taken the field with the same hostile views. The contending kings met in a spacious plain near Gliffaw, between Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus led about twenty-four thousand men, Charles little above half that number, yet he advanced to the charge with intrepidity; and although the king of Poland performed every thing that could be expected from a gallant prince fighting for his crown, he was defeated with great slaughter. Thrice did he rally his troops in person, and attempt to restore the battle, but in vain: all his efforts were fruitless. The Saxons only could be said to fight for him. The Poles, who formed his right wing, gave ground in the beginning of the engagement. Some fled through fear, others from disaffection. The valour and good fortune of Charles prevailed. He gained a complete victory, with all the honours that could attend it: he took possession of the enemy's camp; and their baggage, their cannon, and

and even the military cheſt of Auguſtus, fell into his hands [60].

LETTER XXI.

A.D. 1706.

The king of Sweden halted not a moment on the field of battle. He directed his march inſtantly to Cracow, which ſurrendered without firing a gun. Determined ſtill to purſue Auguſtus, in order to prevent his aſſembling a new army, Charles quickly left that city; but his thigh-bone being broken ſoon after, in conſequence of the fall of his horſe, he was confined to his bed for ſix weeks. During this interval of repoſe, the king of Poland aſſembled a diet at Lublin; where, by his affability, engaging manner, and fine accompliſhments, he in a great meaſure recovered the affections of his ſubjects. All the Palatines ſwore that they would continue faithful to their ſovereign. They agreed to maintain an army of fifty thouſand men for his defence; and they reſolved, that forty days ſhould be allowed the king of Sweden finally to determine, whether he was diſpoſed to peace or war. [61].

Before the expiration of that term, Charles being able to go abroad, overturned all the reſolutions of the diet at Lublin, by one aſſembled at Warſaw. Meanwhile, having received a ſtrong reinforcement from Pomerania, he marched againſt the remains of the Saxon army, which he had defeated at Gliſſaw, and which had been collected and recruited during his confinement. He came up with the enemy on the firſt of May 1703, at a place named Pultauſk. General Stenau commanded the Saxons, who amounted to ten thouſand men. The Swedes conſiſted only of an equal number; yet ſo great was the terror ſtruck by the arms of Charles, that one half of the enemy fled

60. Parthenay, *Hiſt. Polog.* lib. iv. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Charles XII.*

61. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

PART II. A. D. 1706.

at his approach, and the rest were soon routed and dispersed. Augustus himself retired to Thorn, an ancient city on the Vistula, in Polish Prussia. Charles followed him, and besieged the place, which surrendered within a month; but the king of Poland had found means, before it was regularly invested, to escape into Saxony[62].

The diet at Warsaw, through the intrigues of the cardinal-primate, now declared, "That Augustus, "elector of Saxony, was incapable of wearing the "crown of Poland;" and all the members, with one voice, pronounced the throne to be vacant, on the 14th of February 1704. It was the intention of the king of Sweden, and the wish of the diet, to raise to the throne James Sobieski, eldest son of the late king; but that prince being taken prisoner, together with his second brother, Constantine, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Breslaw in Silesia, by a party of the Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who rejected it with a generosity perhaps unexampled in history. Nothing, he said, should ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortune of his elder brothers; and he entreated Charles to employ his victorious arms, in restoring liberty to the unhappy captives[63].

This refusal, and the misfortune which led to it, having disconcerted the measures of the Swedish monarch, his minister, count Piper, who was as great a politician as his master was a warrior, advised Charles to take the crown of Poland to himself. He represented how easy it would be to accomplish such a

62. Parth. *Hist. Polog.* lib. v. 63. Id. ibid.

ſcheme, with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already ſubdued;—and he tempted him with the title of "*Defender* of the *Evangelical Religion*;" an appellation which flattered the prejudices of the northern conqueror. What Guſtavus Vaſa had effected in Sweden, might be accompliſhed, the count affirmed, with the greateſt facility, in Poland; the eſtabliſhment of the Lutheran religion, and the enfranchiſement of the people, now held in the moſt abject ſlavery by the nobility and clergy. Charles acquieſced in the prudent propoſal for a moment; but, blinded by the illuſions of romantic glory, he afterward told his miniſter, that he had more pleaſure in giving away, than in conquering kingdoms! He accordingly recommended to the choice of the Poliſh diet, aſſembled at Warſaw, Staniſlaus Leczinſki, Palatine of Poſnania, who was immediately raiſed to the throne[64].

What time Charles XII. was thus impoſing a king on the vanquiſhed Poles, and the Daniſh monarch durſt not preſume to create him any diſturbance; while the new king of Pruſſia courted his friendſhip, and his antagoniſt Auguſtus was forced to take refuge in his hereditary dominions, the czar Peter was growing every day more formidable. Though he had given the king of Poland but little immediate aſſiſtance, he had made a powerful diverſion in Ingria; and was now not only become a good ſoldier himſelf, but had inſtructed his ſubjects in the art of war. He had able engineers, well ſerved artillery, and experienced officers; diſcipline was eſtabliſhed among his troops; and he had acquired the great ſecret of ſubſiſting his armies. In conſequence of theſe improvements, he took

64. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Charles XII*, liv. iii.

PART II. A. D. 1706.

Narva by aſſault, on the 21ſt of Auguſt 1704, after a regular ſiege, during which he had prevented it from receiving any ſuccours, either by ſea or land. Nor was this his only glory. The Ruſſians were no ſooner maſters of the city, than they began to pillage it, and abandoned themſelves to the moſt enormous barbarities. The czar flew from place to place, to ſtop the plunder and carnage; and having killed two ſoldiers, who refuſed to obey his orders, he entered the town-houſe, and laying his ſword, yet reeking with gore, upon the table, ſaid to the magiſtrates, "This weapon is not ſtained with the blood of your fellow-citizens, but with that of my own people, which I have ſhed to ſave your lives [65]."

Had Peter always paid the ſame attention to the rights of humanity, his character would have ſtood fairer in the annals of hiſtory. And for his honour it muſt be recorded, that at the ſame time he was thus ſaving one city from deſtruction, he was employed in erecting another, not far from Narva, in the heart of his new conqueſts; namely Peterſburg, which he afterward made the place of his reſidence, and the centre of his trade. That city is ſituated between Finland and Ingria, in a marſhy iſland, around which the Neva divides itſelf into ſeveral branches, before it falls into the Gulph of Finland.

This deſert and uncultivated iſland, which, during the ſhort ſummer in thoſe regions, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entrance on the land ſide, but through pathleſs foreſts and deep moraſſes, and which had been the haunt of wolves and bears, was filled, in 1703, with

65. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ruſ.* chap. xii. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. iii.

above

above three hundred thoufand men, whom the czar brought thither from other parts of his dominions. The peafants of Aftracan, and thofe who dwelt on the frontiers of China, were tranfported to Peterfburg: and the czar was obliged to clear forefts, to make roads, to drain marfhes, and to raife mounds before they could lay the foundations of his future capital. The whole was a violence upon nature. Peter was determined to people a country, that did not feem defigned for the habitation of men; and neither the inundation that demolifhed his works, nor the fterility of the foil, nor the ignorance of the workmen, nor even the mortality which carried off near two hundred thoufand men in the beginning of the undertaking, could divert him from his purpofe. By a proper diftribution of favours, he drew many ftrangers to the new city; beftowing lands upon fome, houfes upon others, and encouraging, by the moft liberal rewards, artifts of every defcription. Above all, he rendered it proof againft the utmoft efforts of his enemies; fo that the Swedifh generals, who frequently beat his troops, as we fhall have occafion to fee, were never able to hurt this infant eftablifhment. Peterfburg remained in perfect fecurity amid the deftructive war by which it was furrounded [66].

While the czar was employed in erecting a new capital, and in creating, as it were, a new people, he ftill held out a helping hand to the fugitive Auguftus, who had again found his way into Poland; had retaken Warfaw, and been obliged a fecond time to abandon it. Peter invited him to Grodno, in order to concert meafures for retrieving his affairs. To that place Auguftus repaired in December 1705; and being

66. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1706.

no longer afraid of exaſperating the Poles, by the introduction of foreigners into their country, as they had already done their worſt againſt him, it was reſolved that ſixty thouſand Ruſſians ſhould attack the Swedes in their late conqueſts. This prodigious force ſoon entered Poland; and dividing into ſeveral bodies, laid waſte with fire and ſword the lands of all the Palatines, who had declared for Staniſlaus. An army of Coſſacks alſo entered the Poliſh territories, and ſpread deſolation on every ſide, with all the fury of barbarians. And general Schullemberg, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the paſſage of the Oder, in ſight of the king of Sweden, and by a retreat eſteemed equal to a victory, even by Charles himſelf, was advancing with an army of Saxons [67].

If ſucceſs had depended upon numbers, the Swediſh monarch muſt now have been cruſhed. But his uſual good fortune, the effect of his active and enterpriſing ſpirit, ſtill attended him. The Ruſſian armies were attacked and defeated ſo faſt, that the laſt was routed before it had heard of the diſaſter of the firſt. Nothing could ſtop the progreſs of the conquering Swedes, or equal their celerity. If a river interpoſed, they ſwam acroſs it; and Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in twenty-four hours [68]. Struck with terror at ſuch rapid movements, which to them appeared altogether miraculous, and reduced to a ſmall number, by their various defeats, the Ruſſians retired beyond the Boriſthenes, leaving Auguſtus to his fate [69].

67. Voltaire. *Contin.* Puffend. Parthenay. 68. Every ſoldier leading a horſe in his hand to mount when his own was tired. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. iii. 69. Id. ibid.

A. D. 1706.

In the mean time Schullemberg, having repaſſed the Oder, offered battle to mareſchal Renſchild, who was reckoned the king of Sweden's beſt general, and called the Parmenio of the Alexander of the North. Theſe two great commanders met on the 13th of February 1706, at a place called Travanſtad. Renſchild had only thirteen battalions, and twenty-two ſquadrons, making in all about ten thouſand men; Schullemberg had more than double that number, yet was he defeated with great ſlaughter. Seven thouſand Ruſſians and Saxons were killed on the ſpot; eight thouſand were made priſoners; and all their artillery, baggage, ammunition, and proviſions, fell into the hands of the victors [70]. No quarter was granted to the Ruſſians.

In order to put an end to the troubles of Poland, where, by reaſon of its deſolate ſtate, his army could no longer ſubſiſt, Charles now propoſed to carry the war into the hereditary dominions of Auguſtus. He accordingly directed his march toward Sileſia; paſſed the Oder; entered Saxony, with twenty-four thouſand men; and having laid the whole country under contribution, pitched his camp at Alt-Ranſtadt, near the plains of Lutzen, rendered famous by the memorable victory and death of Guſtavus Adolphus. Unable to contend with ſo powerful an adverſary, already in the heart of his dominions, Auguſtus was under the neceſſity of ſuing for peace. He obtained it, but on the moſt humiliating terms; being forced to renounce for ever all pretenſions to the crown of Poland, and to acknowledge Staniſlaus lawful ſovereign of that kingdom [71]. When his plenipotentiaries endeavoured to procure ſome mitigation of the rigour of theſe conditions,

70. *Hiſt. du Nord*, tom. ii. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

71. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. iii.

PART II. A.D. 1706. conditions, they were conftantly anfwered by count Piper, " Such is the will of my mafter ; and he never " alters his refolution [72] !"

THE march of the king of Sweden into Germany, his victories during the courfe of the war, and the arbitrary manner in which he had depofed Auguftus, filled all Europe with hopes of his friendfhip, or apprehenfions from his power. France courted his alliance with an ardour proportioned to the diftreffed ftate of her affairs. Offended at his grofs violation of the privileges of the Germanic body, the diet at Ratifbon fhewed a difpofition to declare him an enemy of the empire; but the emperor Jofeph, dreading the effects of fuch a meafure, employed all his influence to oppofe it, at the fame time that he endeavoured foften to any refentment which it might excite in the breaft of the northern conqueror, by flattering his pride. Charles was pleafed with thefe attentions, without being fwayed by them. Wholly occupied with the great project of humbling his other antagonift, the czar Peter, and even of reducing him to the fame abject condition into which he had already brought Auguftus, he difregarded all the folicitations of France, and feemed to favour the views of the emperor, without having any attachment to his intereft.

LEWIS XIV. thus difappointed in his hopes of engaging the king of Sweden in his caufe, and broken in fpirit by misfortunes, began ferioufly to think of putting an end to a war, which had brought accumulated difgrace upon his arms, and the deepeft diftrefs upon his fubjects. Having privately made fome ineffectual applications to the minifters of Holland,

72. Id. ibid.

he resolved publicly to manifest his earnest desire of peace; and ordered, for that purpose, the elector of Bavaria to write letters to the duke of Marlborough and the field deputies of the States, proposing a general congress. As a proof of his sincerity, he mentioned at once the sacrifices he was willing to make. He offered all the Spanish dominions in Italy to the archduke Charles; to the States, a barrier in the Netherlands; and to the duke of Savoy, a compensation for the waste made by the war in his territories. In return for such liberal concessions, he demanded, that the electorate of Bavaria should be restored to its native prince, and that Philip V. should be allowed to possess Spain and her American dominions [73]; or, in the lofty language of the proud Castilians, Spain and the Indies [74].

THE confederates, by concluding a peace on these terms, and others which they might have dictated, but especially the perpetual disunion of the crowns of France and Spain, would have obtained the chief objects of the Grand Alliance; yet was the offer, though surely a sufficient foundation for entering upon a negociation, wantonly rejected, and Europe destined to remain, for many years longer, a scene of carnage, confusion, and distress, in order to gratify the passions of a few ambitious and selfish men. The duke of Marlborough was fond of the emoluments as well as the glory of war: prince Eugene, beside being under the influence

73. Burnet, book vii.

74. This mode of speaking seems to have been introduced, when the Spaniards were in possession of the Portuguese settlements in India, where all other Europeans were long considered as intruders; and when Spain asserted an exclusive right to the whole American continent, as well as to the contiguous islands, to which she gave the name of the *West Indies*. Hence too, by a still more ridiculous vanity, the Spanish monarchs still assume the title of "King "of the East and West Indies."

of

PART II. A.D. 1706.

of ſimilar motives, was actuated by an implacable reſentment againſt France; and the penſionary Heinſius, who led the councils of the ſtates, yielded to his own intereſt, while he acted in ſubſerviency to thoſe two generals. Theſe were the three great ſprings that now directed the Grand Alliance: and the motion communicated by their joint impulſe, was accelerated by the torrent of victory. The views of the allies extended with their ſucceſſes. Having humbled France, they aſpired at the conqueſt of Spain. It was accordingly reſolved, That no peace ſhould be made with the houſe of Bourbon, while a prince of that houſe continued to ſit upon the Spaniſh throne [75].

THUS

75. "I do not remember," ſays my lord Bolingbroke, any "*parliamentary declaration* for *continuing* the *war* till Philip V. ſhould be *dethroned*, before the year 1706: and then ſuch a declaration was judged "neceſſary to ſecond the reſolution of our miniſters and our allies, in "departing from the principles of the Grand Alliance, and in propoſing "not only the *reduction* of the French, but the *conqueſt* of the Spaniſh "monarchy, as the object of the war." (*Sketch of the Hiſt. and State of Europe.*) And, little faith as is placed in the hiſtorical teſtimony of Bolingbroke, he ſeems here to have truth on his ſide, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by Lord Walpole; who endeavours to prove, That although the king of England, and the States-general of the United Provinces, had acknowledged Philip V. to be lawful king of Spain, in virtue of the will of his predeceſſor Charles II. the *primary object* of the Grand Alliance was to *deprive him of the throne of that Kingdom*, and placed upon it a prince of the houſe of Auſtria. (*Anſwer to the Latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of Hiſtory.*) That ſuch was the aim of the imperial family is very certain; but England and Holland, as I have already had occaſion to ſhew, (Let. XX.) refuſed to engage for ſo much. In afterward going that length, they conſequently altered, or enlarged their plan. What is farther neceſſary to be obſerved on this intricate ſubject, may be found in the reflections introductory to the negociations at Utrecht (Letter XXIII.) Though a well-wiſher to the cauſe of the Confederates, I ſcorn to conceal their errors or inconſiſtencies. No ſtipulation was originally made, in any article of the Grand Alliance, that a prince of the houſe of Bourbon ſhould *not* be allowed to ſit on the throne of Spain, or *not* poſſeſs, together with that kingdom, the Spaniſh dominions in America.

But

LETTER XXI. A. D. 1706.

' THUS, my dear Philip, were the objects of this confederacy in a great meaſure changed; and, in order to form a true judgment of the whole, you muſt conſider very attentively the new plan, and compare it with the original plan of the Grand Alliance, relatively to the general intereſts of Europe, and the particular intereſt of your own country. You will then, I think, be of opinion, That the war was wiſe and juſt before this change, becauſe neceſſary to maintain that equality among the powers of Europe on which their peace and common proſperity depend; but that it was unwiſe and unjuſt, after this change, becauſe unneceſſary to ſuch end, and directed to other and contrary ends. After this change, it became a war of paſſion, of ambition, of avarice, and of private intereſt, to which the general intereſts of Europe were ſacrificed ſo entirely, that, if the terms inſiſted on by the Confederates had been granted, ſuch a new ſyſtem of power would have been created as muſt have expoſed the balance of that power to deviations, not inferior to thoſe which the war was originally intended to prevent[76].

WHILST we reprobate this ambitious ſcheme, conſidered in a general view, we find particular occaſion to lament the fate of Great Britain in the midſt of

But on the acceſſion of Savoy and Portugal to the Grand Alliance, the Confederates began to extend their views; and, in conſequence of the ſucceſſes of the war, from 1703 to 1706, was formed the reſolution, which made theſe obſervations neceſſary.

76. The emperor Joſeph, who died a few years after, was then without male iſſue. And the union of the kingdoms of Spain and Hungary, with the German and Italian dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, in the perſon of the archduke Charles, ſupported by the wealth of the American mines, would have been no leſs dangerous to the liberties of Europe, independent of the weight of the imperial crown, than the union of the French and Spaniſh monarchies under Philip V. or his deſcendants.

triumphs

PART II. A. D. 1706.

triumphs that have been founded so high. Victories that bring honour to the arms, may bring shame to the councils of a nation. To win a battle, to take a town, is the glory of a commander, and of an army. Of this glory we had a very large share. But the wisdom of a nation is to proportion the ends she proposes to her interest and her strength. Great Britain neither expected nor desired any thing beyond what she might have obtained, by adhering to the first principles of the Grand Alliance. But she was hurried into those of the new plan by the causes which I have already mentioned; by the prejudices and the rashness of party; by the influence which the successes of the arms of the Confederates gave to our ministers, Godolphin and Marlborough; and by the popularity, if I may so speak, which they gave to the war itself. The people were unwilling to put an end to a contest that afforded so many occasions of public rejoicing, and so wide a range for national pride.

THE English ministry, however, though thus lavish of the blood and treasure of the nation, in support of unnecessary foreign wars, were by no means negligent of its internal tranquillity and happiness. That UNION of England and Scotland, under one legislature, which had, as we have seen, been often attempted in vain, was at last accomplished, after long and warm debates between the commissioners of the two kingdoms; and, in consequence of it, all disputes concerning the Scottish crown were fortunately prevented.

THE principal Articles in that famous treaty are to the following purport: "That the TWO Kingdoms "of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND shall be *united* into "ONE, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN;

"THAT

"THAT the SUCCESSION to the United Kingdom "shall remain to the Princess SOPHIA, Duchess "Dowager of HANOVER, and the Heirs of her Body, "being *Protestants*:—And that all *Papists*, and *Persons* "*marrying Papists*, shall be *excluded* from, and for ever "*incapable* to *inherit* the CROWN of GREAT BRI-"TAIN, or any part of the Dominions thereunto be-"longing;

"THAT the *whole people* of GREAT BRITAIN shall "be *represented* by ONE Parliament, in which *sixteen* "Peers, and *forty-five* Commoners, chosen for SCOT-"LAND, shall *sit* and *vote*;

"THAT the *Subjects* of the United Kingdom shall "*enjoy* an *entire freedom* and *intercourse* of *Trade* and "*Navigation*, and *reciprocal communication* of all other "*Rights*, *Privileges*, and *Advantages*, belonging to the "Subjects of either Kingdom;

"THAT the *Laws* in regard to *Public Right*, *Policy*, "and *Civil Government*, shall be *the same throughout* "*the whole United Kingdom*; but that *no alteration shall* "*be made* in the *Laws* respecting *Private Right*, un-"less for the evident *utility* of the *Subjects* residing in "*Scotland*;

"THAT the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the ROYAL "BOROUGHS in SCOTLAND shall not be affected by "the UNION;

"THAT the COURT of SESSION, or COLLEGE "of JUSTICE, with all the other *Courts of Judicature* "in SCOTLAND shall *remain* as *constituted* by the Laws "of *that* Kingdom, and with the same *Authority* and

"*Privileges*

PART II. A. D. 1706.

"*Privileges* as before the UNION; subject neverthe-"less to such *Regulations* as may be *made* by the *Par*-"*liament* of GREAT BRITAIN."

BESIDE these general and permanent Articles, it was particularly stipulated, That the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds, granted by the English parliament, should be paid to Scotland, as an equivalent for that *Augmentation* of the Customs and Excise, which was become necessary "for preserving an equality of Trade throughout the "United Kingdom," and which would be *applicable* toward the *Payment* of the *Public Debt* of England, contracted before the UNION; this sum to be applied, partly toward the *extinction* of the *National Debt* of SCOTLAND, partly toward the *indemnification* of the *Adventurers* in the AFRICAN and INDIAN or DARIEN COMPANY; and the residue, after the *Reimbursement* of such individuals as might suffer by the *Reduction* (or rather *Elevation*) of the *Coin* of SCOTLAND to the *Standard* of ENGLAND, in encouraging Fisheries and Manufactures in that Kingdom [77].

THOUGH this treaty, all circumstances considered, was neither dishonourable nor disadvantageous to Scotland, yet was it zealously opposed, not only by the adherents of the excluded family, whose particular interest it was to obstruct such a measure, but also by many independent members of the Scottish parliament, on principles of mere patriotism. Of those, the most firm and resolute was Andrew Fletcher of Salton; a man of a cultivated genius, of a warm temper, a lofty courage, a bold eloquence, and an

77. See Defoe's *Hist. of the Union*, where the Articles are printed at large, with all the arguments for and against them.

incorruptible

incorruptible integrity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, to prevent the paffing of the Act of Union, and believing it impoffible that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been brought to confent to the annihilation of their ancient monarchy without the influence of Englifh gold, he refolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not fhare in their reproach, by condefcending fo far as to live among them. On the day of his departure, his friends crowded around him, intreating him to ftay. Even after his foot was in the ftirrup, they continued their folicitations, anxioufly crying, "Will you forfake "your country?" He reverted his head, and darting on them a look of indignation, keenly replied, "It is only fit for the flaves that fold it!" then leaped into the faddle, and put fpurs to his horfe [68]; leaving the whole company ftruck with a momentary humiliation, and (blind to the extravagance of his conduct) at a lofs which moft to admire, the pride of his virtue or the elevation of his fpirit.

LETTER XXI.

A.D. 1706.

THAT fome of the evils, foretold by the Scottifh patriots at the Union, have fince overtaken their countrymen, cannot be denied; particularly the accumulation of taxes, in confequence of the growth of the Englifh national debt, which then amounted only to about twenty millions, and the multiplication of the herd of infolent revenue officers. Yet have the Scots, from that æra, enjoyed more happinefs, as a people, and rifen to more wealth and confequence, as individuals, than they could poffibly have attained in their difunited ftate.

68. This anecdote the Author had from the late Patrick, lord Elibank.

PART II. A.D. 1706.

Nor has England reason to complain of the Union. Instead of turbulent neighbours, ſhe has gained, by communicating her privileges to the Scots, hardy ſoldiers to fight her battles, and induſtrious workmen in every branch of manufacture. She has ſecured for ever the undivided ſovereignty of Great Britain, and the liberties of Engliſhmen, againſt the uſurpations of foreign or domeſtic ambition, by making the conſervation of that ſovereignty, and thoſe liberties, the common intereſt of all the brave and free ſubjects of the United Kingdom.

LETTER XXII.

The General View of Europe *continued, from the Refuſal of the Offers of Peace made by* France, *in* 1706. *to the Conferences held at* Gertruydenberg, *in* 1710.

LETTER XXII. A. D. 1706.

Lewis XIV. finding all his offers of peace rejected with diſdain by the confederates, prepared himſelf to brave, once more, that ſtorm which he could not diſpel. In order to ſupply the want of money, he iſſued bills upon the mint, to a very large amount, in imitation of the exchequer bills circulated by the Engliſh government; but, by refuſing to take thoſe bills in payment of the taxes, he threw them into ſuch diſcredit, that, after every expedient to raiſe their value had been tried, they remained at a diſcount of more than fifty *per cent.* He was therefore obliged, on the failure of this deſperate reſource, which augmented the diſtreſs of his people at the ſame time that it weakened their confidence in the crown,

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1706.

crown, to continue the practice of burthensome loans, and to anticipate the royal revenue [1].

But Lewis, notwithstanding these disadvantages, was enabled to make very considerable preparations, for opposing the efforts of his victorious enemies. He extended a line of militia along the coasts of the Channel, and the shores of the Mediterranean: he formed an army in Flanders, under the duke de Vendome; another was collected by mareschal Villars, in the neighbourhood of Strasburg; a body of men was ordered to assemble in Naverre, a second in Roussillon; and large reinforcements were sent to the army of the duke of Berwick in Spain [2]. These reinforcements were partly furnished in consequence of fresh, but not unexpected, disasters in Italy. The French troops, to the number of fifteen thousand, being obliged to evacuate Lombardy, by a capitulation signed in the beginning of March, were dispatched to the assistance of Philip V. Modena and Milan surrendered successively to the allies: the whole kingdom of Naples was reduced; and the few places in the dominions of the duke of Savoy, that were still held by French or Spanish garrisons, fell one by one before the close of the campaign [3].

A. D. 1707.

The fortune of the war was very different in Spain. There the allies, more through their own misconduct than the strength of the enemy, received a dreadful overthrow. Charles III. pretending that Catalonia was in danger, separated himself, with a large detachment, from the principal army, commanded by the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas; who,

1. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxviii. *Finances*. 2. Contin. *Hist de France*, par P. Daniel. Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 3. Id. ibid. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap xx.

PART II. A.D. 1707.

having exhausted all their provisions in Valencia, attempted to penetrate into New Castile. With this view, they passed the river Xucar, and marched toward Almanza. The duke of Berwick, who was just arrived at that place, hesitated not a moment to give them battle. Ignorant of the succours he had received, the confederates eagerly advanced to the charge, flushed with former victories, and animated with hopes of new success. The action soon became general, and the field was obstinately disputed. The English and Dutch infantry penetrated through the centre of the enemy, and proceeded as far as the walls of Almanza. Meantime the French and Spanish cavalry, on the right wing, twice broke the horse of the allies, and were as often repulsed by their foot, under colour of which the horse rallied. In order to overcome this difficulty, the duke of Berwick ordered a body of infantry to advance to the assistance of his cavalry on the right. A vigorous charge was given, by both horse and foot at the same time. The left wing of the allies was totally routed: and their right, which had hitherto maintained its ground, being flanked by the right of the enemy, was broken and dispersed; while their gallant infantry in the centre, where they had carried every thing before them, in attempting to retreat, on seeing the defeat of their two wings, were surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and almost all cut to pieces [4].

No victory was ever more complete than that gained by the duke of Berwick at Almanza. Five thousand of the Confederates were slain, and near ten thousand made prisoners. Among the latter were six major-generals, as many brigadiers, twenty colonels, and a

4. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. Burnet. book vii.

proportional

poportional number of inferior officers, ſaid to amount to eight hundred. All the artillery of the vanquiſhed, moſt of their baggage, with one hundred and twenty colours and ſtandards, fell into the hands of the victors[5]. Las Minas, who was run through the arm, and who had ſeen his miſtreſs, fighting in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his ſide, eſcaped to Xativa; and the earl of Galway, who had received two cuts in the face, ſtopt not his flight till he arrived at Tortoſa, near the mouth of the Ebro[6].

THE duke of Orleans, who aſſumed the command of the French army the day after the battle of Almanza, did not neglect the opportunity which fortune and the abilities of the duke of Berwick had procured him, of retrieving the affairs of his family in Spain. He reduced the city, and recovered the whole kingdom of Valencia: he directed his march into Arragon, and reduced Saragoſſa and Lerida under the dominion of Philip V. before the cloſe of the campaign; while Charles III. either loitered in Catalonia, or made unimportant excurſions toward the frontiers of Rouſſillon[7].

THE

5. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 6. *Hiſt. Gen. d' Eſpagne. Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* vol vii. fol. edit. 7. Duke of Berwick, ubi ſup. "I muſt not here omit," ſays this intelligent obſerver of mankind, "a ſingular circumſtance. The count de la Puebla, who commanded in Saragoſſa, made the inhabitants believe, that the reports raiſed concerning a new army coming from Navarre were falſe, and even that the camp, which appeared, was nothing more than a phantom formed by magic art. In this perſuaſion, the clergy went in proceſſion upon the ramparts; and from that eminent ſituation, after a number of prayers, exorciſed the pretended ſpectres that were in ſight!—It is not a little ſurpriſing," adds he, "that the people could be ſo credulous as to adopt ſuch an idea. But they were ſoon undeceived by the huſſars of the army of the duke of Orleans;

PART II.
A. D. 1707.

The affairs of the confederates did not wear a more favourable aspect in Germany. The continuance of the rebellion in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, and the sluggishness of the German princes, had almost exposed the empire to calamities as great as those from which it was relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The margrave of Bareith, who had succeeded to the command of the Imperialists on the death of the prince of Baden, was in no condition, in the early part of the campaign, to oppose the French, under mareschal Villars; who, having passed the Rhine at Strasburg, forced the lines of the Germans at Stolhoffen, laid the duchy of Wurtemburg under contribution, entered Suabia, and penetreated to the Danube [8].

But the superiority of the French, in the heart of Germany, was not the only danger which the empire had now to fear. Charles XII. who had remained in Saxony during the winter, found some plausible pretences for quarrelling with the court of Vienna; and although all reasonable satisfaction was given him, on the subject of his complaints, he continued to urge them with an obstinacy suitable to his character. From complaints he proceeded to demands; requiring that the Protestants in Silesia should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion, according to the treaty of Westphalia; that his Imperial Majesty should relinquish all pretensions to the quota which the king of Sweden was bound to furnish, by the tenure on which he possessed his German dominions; and that

"Orleans; who having briskly pursued to the gates of the city, "a party of the count de la Puebla's cavalry, cut off some of their "heads!" *Mem* vol. i.

8. Barre, *Hist. d' Allemagne*, tom. x. Burnet, book vii.

the

the whole Swedifh army, in its return through Silefia into Poland, fhould be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna [9].

THE queen of England, though fenfible the emperor was not in a fituation to refufe thofe imperious demands, was afraid that the pride of Jofeph might overcome his attention to the interefts of the allies [10]. She, therefore, ordered the duke of Marlborough, who was no lefs a ftatefman and a courtier than a general, to repair to Saxony, and attempt to foothe the king of Sweden. When the duke arrived in the Swedifh camp at Alt-Ranftadt, where he was received with the refpect due to his character, he paid Charles many handfome compliments, to which no anfwer was returned, but which had notwithftanding perhaps the defired effect. He went even fo far as to tell the northern conqueror, that he fhould efteem it a peculiar happinefs, could he have an opportunity of learning, under fo great a commander, thofe parts of the military fcience which he did not yet underftand! And having acquired, by a long courfe of experience, the art of diving into the characters of men, and of reading their moft fecret thoughts in their looks and geftures, he foon difcovered the inclinations and views of the king of Sweden. In the pleafure with which he talked of the victories of the allies, Malborough perceived his averfion againft France; while the kindling of his eye at the name of the czar, and a map of Ruffia lying upon

9. *Contin.* Puffend, lib. vii. Burnet, book vii.

10. The emperor, it appears, was by no means fo haughty as the queen imagined; for, when the pope complained of his reftoring the churches to the Proteftants, he facetioufly replied, "Had the king of "Sweden propofed that I fhould become a Lutheran myfelf, I know not "what might have been the confequence." *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. i.

PART II. A. D. 1707.

his table, made this profound politician intimately acquainted with the future designs of Charles. He therefore took leave, without making him any proposals; sensible that his disputes with the emperor could be easily accommodated, as all his demands would be granted [11]. England and Holland accordingly guarantied the promises of the court of Vienna; and the czar having entered Poland, the king of Sweden repassed the Oder, in quest of new victories, and in hopes of soon returning to hold the balance of Europe.

In Flanders, no event of any importance happened during this campaign, nor any thing memorable at sea. The duke de Vendome prudently avoided an action, and made his movements with so much judgment, that Marlborough found no opportunity of attacking him to advantage [12]. The naval operations were chiefly confined to the siege of Toulon.

The reduction of the Spanish dominions in Italy, and the capitulation signed at the beginning of the campaign, in consequence of which the French army abandoned Lombardy, having left prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy perfectly disengaged, a plan was formed by them, in conjunction with the maritime powers, for invading France from that quarter, and of reducing Toulon or Marseilles; an enterprize which, if attended with success, it was hoped would put a final close to the war. The prince and the duke, after having for some time amused the enemy, by a feint upon Dauphiny, in order to conceal their real design, accordingly turned off toward the shore of the Mediter-

11. "These particulars," says Voltaire, "I had from the duchess of "Marlborough." *Hist. Ch. XII.* liv. iii.

12. Burnet. book vii.

Mediterranean; forced the paſſage of the river Var; proceeded along the coaſt of Provence; and arrived, by a long and difficult march, before Toulon; while Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, with a formidable fleet, attended their motions, ſupplied the army with neceſſaries, and blocked up the town by ſea [13].

LETTER XXII.

A.D. 1707. July 6.

UNFORTUNATELY for the allies, only two hours before prince Eugene appeared with the van of the Imperialiſts, the French had found means to throw eight thouſand men into Toulon. They had taken poſſeſſion of all the eminences that commanded the city; and the confederates, in attempting to gain theſe, were either repulſed with great ſlaughter, or obliged to acquire and maintain them, at a ſtill greater expence of blood. Diſcouraged by circumſtances ſo adverſe, by the bad condition of their army, the want of concert in their operations, and apprehenſive of being ſurrounded by a ſuperior force, as the French were in motion on every ſide, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene judged it prudent to abandon their enterpriſe, though ſenſible that the hopes and fears of all Europe hung ſuſpended on its iſſue [14]. But this expedition, though finally unſucceſsful, was extremely detrimental to France. The confederates, in their paſſage and return through Provence, ruined a vaſt extent of country. And the detachments drawn from the army of mareſchal Villars, in order to ſuccour Toulon, obliged him to relinquiſh all his high projects in Germany, and to repaſs the Rhine, inſtead of advancing beyond the Danube [15].

THE failure of the attempt upon Toulon, however, the inactive campaign in Flanders, and the misfortunes

13. Id. ibid. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xx. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

14. Burnet, book vii.

15. Barre. Burnet. Voltaire.

PART II. A.D. 1707. tunes of the confederates in Spain, furnished the enemies of the duke of Marlborough and of the lord treasurer Godolphin with plausible pretexts for discrediting their measures: and intrigues were formed for overturning their administration. These intrigues were chiefly conducted by Mr. Secretary Harley, who had acquired a very considerable share of the queen's confidence, by flattering her political prejudices; and who, in order to strengthen his own interest, had secured the support of Mrs. Masham, a new female favourite, who had partly supplanted the duchess of Marlborough in the affections of the queen[16]; or rather in that ascendant, though she did not usurp the same absolute dominion, which the duchess had established over the mind of her timid mistress.

Apprised of the scheme that was formed for their ruin, Marlborough and Godolphin complained of Harley's intrigues to the queen; and not meeting with a satisfactory answer, they both threatened to resign their places, and absented themselves from the A. D. 1708. cabinet council. The council was struck with consternation. Even the secretary shrunk from the load that was ready to fall on his shoulders. And the queen, from fear not regard, recalled her ministers, and dismissed Harley, whose fortune his friend St. John, secretary at war, and others chose to follow, by resigning their places; yet not without hopes of having it one day in their power to govern the councils of their sovereign by fostering her affection for the excluded branch of her family, and increasing her secret aversion against the succession of the house of Hanover[17].

16. Burnet, book vii.

17. Id. Ibid. See also *Stuart Papers*.

THIS

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1708.

THIS division in the Engliſh cabinet, and the diſcontents in Scotland, occaſioned by the Union, encouraged Lewis XIV. to make an attempt in favour of the pretended prince of Wales, whom he had acknowledged by the title of James III. not doubting but he ſhould be able, at leaſt, to create ſuch diſtractions in Great Britain as would weaken the efforts of the allies in Flanders. To that attempt Lewis was farther incited by the eager ſolicitations of the Scottiſh Jacobites, who offered to raiſe and equip thirty thouſand men, at their own expence, and to furniſh them with proviſions until they could march into England[18].

IN conſequence of theſe magnificent promiſes, the Pretender, under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, ſailed from Dunkirk on board a French fleet, commanded by M. de Fourben, with between five and ſix thouſand land forces, ten thouſand muſkets, and a ſupply of other implements of war. Their purpoſe was to enter the Frith of Forth, and land in the neighbourhood of Edindurgh. But, through the ignorance or inattention of their pilots, they overſhot their deſtination; and before they could recover their miſtake, Sir George Byng, with a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, had taken poſſeſſion of the Frith[19]. Seeing now no proſpect of ſucceſs, and afraid of the capture of his whole ſquadron, the French admiral returned to Dunkirk, with the loſs of only one ſhip, but to the utter confuſion of the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents, both in France and Great Britain[20].

THE

18. Hook's *Negociations*. 19. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 20. It is truly amuſing to obſerve the extravagance of the Jacobite writers in ſpeaking of this intended invaſion. They confidently affirm, That if the Pretender could have landed in Scotland, with only the appearance of an army, he would ſoon have been enabled to march into

PART II. A.D. 1708.

The Engliſh miniſtry, in concert with the parlia-ment, took the moſt vigorous meaſures for repelling the intended invaſion, as well as for continuing the war. And no ſooner had all apprehenſions of danger ceaſed, than the duke of Marlborough, the great pillar of the nation, and the chief ſupport of the Grand Alliance, went over to Flanders, in order to command the confederate army, in conjunction with prince Eugene; who, in the beginning of the cam-paign, had headed a ſeparate army upon the Rhine. The French army, commanded by the duke de Ven-dome in the name of the duke of Burgundy, though more numerous than that of the confederates, ſtudi-ouſly avoided an action, or any hoſtile attempt; until by treachery, under the appearance of ſurpriſe, they got poſſeſſion of Ghent and Bruges. The duke of Marlborough, accuſed of being privy to this treachery,

July 5.

into England, in ſpite of all oppoſition; and by the junction of his Engliſh and Scottiſh adherents, to have given law to a princeſs, who was giving law to Europe! Nay, they do not ſcruple to declare that the queen's affection for her brother was ſo great, that on his approach, with a reſpectable force, ſhe would readily have conſented to the breaking of the Union, and to his immediate acceſſion to the Scottiſh crown, that ſhe might have a more certain proſpect of tranſmitting to him the crown of England; not reflecting that his natural right to both crowns was preferable to hers, and therefore that any attempt to claim either, in her life-time, muſt have excited the higheſt jealouſy. The ſame writers, in the madneſs of rage at their cruel diſappointment, even aſſert that Lewis XIV. gave Forben poſitive orders not to land the troops which he had ordered him to embark; though by their embarkation, which he was under no neceſſity of ordering, and the voyage to Scotland, in conſequence of it, he hazarded the loſs of a very conſiderable armament! (See Macpherſon's *Hiſt. of Great Britain*, vol. ii. where the account of all the Jacobite writers may be found.) Theſe are ſhocking abſurdities; but it is the unhappineſs of party writers in general, and particularly of the abettors of the rights of the unfortunate family of Stuart, to pay little regard to truth, to reaſon, or probability, in the vehement proſecution of their arguments; to the proofs founded on facts, or thoſe ariſing from circumſtances.

demon-

LETTER XXII. A.D. 1708.

demonſtrated by his conduct the injuſtice of the aſperſion. Though not yet joined by prince Eugene's army, but aſſiſted by the advice of that conſummate general, he paſſed the Scheld, by a forced march, and came up with the enemy near Oudenarde. They could no longer decline a battle; and their ſituation and ſuperiority in numbers ſeemed to inſure them ſucceſs.

THE Scheld, and ſeveral incloſures, covered the left wing of the French army. A moraſs lay along the hoſtile front; and on a riſing ground, on their right, the enemy placed their cavalry, interlined with parties of foot. The infantry of the allies, advancing acroſs the moraſs, were received with great firmneſs by the French foot. But the Britiſh cavalry broke the French horſe at the firſt ſhock, and the foot intermixed with the ſquadrons were cut in pieces on the ſpot. Meantime the French infantry behind the moraſs had ſtood their ground againſt all the efforts of the confederates. In order, however, to avoid being flanked by the Britiſh cavalry, now triumphant, they ſheltered themſelves in the incloſures on the banks of the Scheld; and, although the approach of darkneſs prevented the defeat from becoming general, the fears and miſconduct of the enemy yielded to the allies all the advantages of a complete victory. So great was their panic and confuſion, that, while the confederates expected nothing but a renewal of the action next morning, the vanquiſhed retreated by five different routs in the night; and that diſgraceful and diſorderly flight, by breaking the ſpirit of the ſoldiers, rendered all the operations of the French timid, during the reſt of the campaign[21]. Though they preſerved their

July 11.

21. Feuquieres. Burnet. Voltaire.

cannon

PART II. A.D. 1708.

cannon and baggage, they loſt by this defeat about twenty thouſand men: they had five thouſand killed, nine thouſand taken priſoners, and near ſix thouſand deſerted [22].

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Oudenarde, the French were reinforced by a ſtrong detachment, under the duke of Berwick, from the Rhine; and the Confederates were joined by prince Eugene's army, which eſcorted a grand convoy. This convoy the duke of Berwick, whoſe troops arrived firſt, propoſed to attack; but that propoſal, as well as every other which he made during the campaign, was rejected by the duke de Vendome, either from jealouſy or timidity [23]. In conſequence of the ſafe arrival of the convoy, and the troops that guarded it, the ſiege of Liſle, the principal city in French Flanders, and the ſecond in the dominions of Lewis XIV. the key of the kingdom, fortified with all the art of Vauban, was undertaken by prince Eugene; while Marlborough lay encamped in the neighbourhood, in order to prevent the enemy from interrupting the operations, and to forward the neceſſary ſupplies to the beſiegers [24].

August 22.

No town was ever, perhaps, more vigorouſly attacked or defended than Liſle; into which the mareſchal de Boufflers, an old experienced officer, had thrown himſelf, with ſome of the beſt troops of France. The garriſon conſiſted of about twelve thouſand men, the beſiegers of at leaſt thirty thou-

22. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 23. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. As none of theſe propoſals were embraced, it is impoſſible to ſay, what ſucceſs might have attended them; but military men, in general, ſeem to be of opinion, that moſt of the meaſures ſuggeſted were highly worthy of being adopted. 24. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

ſand.

ſand. None of the works were carried without an obſtinate ſtruggle; and ſcarce were the aſſailants maſters of one place, when they were driven from another, and in danger of loſing all their former advantages, gained at a prodigious expence of blood and valour. Yet ſtill they perſevered, and by perſeverance advanced their progreſs. Meanwhile Vendome endeavoured to diſtreſs them by cutting off their convoys. But in that ſervice he moſt unaccountably failed, as well as in all his attempts to relieve the place; ſo that Boufflers, after a gallant defence of two months, was obliged to ſurrender Liſle. He retired into the citadel, which was alſo forced to capitulate, and Ghent and Bruges were recovered before the cloſe of the campaign[25]. Oct. 23.

No event of any importance happened in Germany during the ſummer. The electors of Hanover, and Bavaria, who were oppoſed to each other on the Upper Rhine, not being in a condition to act with effect in the field, employed themſelves chiefly in fortifying their lines; a precaution ſuggeſted by a mutual conſciouſneſs of their weakneſs[26]. On the ſide of Italy,

25. Id. ibid. The duke of Berwick particularly inveſtigates the cauſes of the capture of Liſle. And it appears, if his advice had been followed, that the convoys of the confederates would have been effectually cut off, and perhaps prince Eugene, and even the duke of Marlborough, defeated, by the aſſiſtance of troops that might have been drawn out of the neighbouring garriſons, without their knowledge, to reinforce an already ſtrong army, by which they were ſurrounded; and which could, with ſuch reinforcement, have amuſed the one, while it gave battle to the other. [illegible] appears, on the ſame authority, that Marlborough, on one occaſion, would have totally defeated Vendome, if he had not been prevented from hazarding a battle by the field-deputies of the States. See the *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i. and the *Letters* at the end of the volume, which contain many curious particulars in the military line, and fully illuſtrate the principal events of the campaign in Flanders in 1708.

26. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. Burnet, book vii.

where

PART II. A.D. 1708.

where much was expected, some advantages were gained by the allies, but nothing signal was performed. The duke of Savoy who, beside is native troops, had in his army twenty thousand men in the pay of Great Britain and the States, had formed great and extensive projects. He designed to pass through the territories of the Swiss, to join the troops of the empire in Alsace, and to penetrate into France on that side. But he was so vigorously opposed by mareschal Villars, that he was happy in having opened a passage into the enemy's country, and secured his own dominions against the future invasions of the French on the most exposed side, by making himself master of Exilles, La Perouse, and Fenestrelles [27].

THE confederates were yet less successful in Spain. There the house of Bourbon had two armies in the field, on the side of Catalonia; one under the duke of Orleans, another led by the duke de Noailles: and a third army in Estremadura, commanded by the marquis de Bay. Though Charles III. had not a sufficient force to enable him to face the duke of Orleans in the field, the latter was prevented, by the unprovided condition of his army, from making such progress as might have been feared. He took, however, Tortosa in the month of July; and Dania and Alicant, in the province of Valencia, fell into the hands of the French before the close of the campaign. The duke de Noailles, opposed by the prince of Darmstadt, performed nothing of importance, except providing his troops with provisions at the expence of the Catalans; and the season of action,

27. Burnet, ubi. sup. *State of Europe*, 1708.

on

on the ſide of Portugal, was paſſed in a ſtate of abſolute inactivity [28]

THE operations by ſea were attended with very conſiderable ſucceſs, on the part of the confederates. Sir John Leake, having carried to Catalonia the princeſs of Wolfenbuttle, whom Charles III. had eſpouſed, took on board ſome troops, and directed his courſe to Cagliaria, the capital of Sardinia. No ſooner did the Engliſh fleet appear than the monks, gained by cardinal Grimani, who was in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, ran in bodies to the ſtreets and public places, holding the crucifix in their hands, and aſſured the inhabitants, who flocked around them, That God had made uſe of heretics to give them a better maſter. This made ſuch an impreſſion on the populace, that the viceroy was forced to accept of ſuch terms as the invaders choſe to grant; and the whole iſland ſubmitted without drawing a ſword [29]. The ſame admiral, aſſiſted by major-general Stanhope, alſo took the iſland of Minorca [30]; a conqueſt, in itſelf leſs valuable than Sardinia, but of more importance to England when at war with Spain, on account of the excellent harbour of Mahon,

28. *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne*, tom. ii. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom ii. But the generals, who there commanded, and whoſe conduct in the field was ſo little worthy of praiſe, gained great credit by a wiſe and humane convention, that can never be enough admired. They agreed, that the peaſants, on the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, ſhould not be diſturbed, by the troops of either party, in cultivating the ſoil, or in feeding their cattle; and that the war ſhould, for the future, be conſidered as ſubſiſting only between regular armies, or men in military ſervice, and not between the private inhabitants of the two kingdoms. Id. ibid.

29. *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne*, tom. ii. *State of Europe*, 1708. 30 Id. ibid.

PART II.
A. D. 1708.

and the ſtrong caſtle of St. Philip, by which it is defended.

The reduction of thoſe iſlands, which, in conjunction with the fortreſs of Gibraltar, gave the maritime powers the abſolute command of the Mediterranean, induced the Italian States to ſubmit to certain antiquated claims of the emperor Joſeph, that they would otherwiſe have rejected with diſdain. Even the pope, who had hitherto adhered to the intereſts of Philip V. and who had raiſed an army for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, no ſooner heard of the ſurrender of Bologna to the Imperialiſts, and that an Engliſh fleet was ready to bombard Civita Vecchia, than he promiſed to acknowledge Charles III. as lawful king of Spain, in order to prevent Rome itſelf from being again ſacked by the barbarians of the North [31]; for as ſuch the Italians ſtill conſidered the Engliſh and Germans.

The death of the prince of Denmark, the queen of England's huſband, which happened during theſe tranſactions abroad, made no alteration in the ſtate of Engliſh politics; on which his feeble genius, and unimportant character, had never had any influence. The great ſucceſs of the campaign confirmed the aſcendant that Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, in conſequence of the expulſion of Harley from the cabinet: and they found means to reconcile the diſſatisfied Whigs to their meaſures, by dividing with the leaders of that party, the power and emoluments of government. The earl of Pembroke was appointed to the place of lord high admiral, vacant by the deceaſe of the prince of Denmark; lord Somers, who had been out of office ever ſince

31. Burnet, book vii. *State of Europe*, 1708.

deprived

deprived of the Great Seal by king William, was made prefident of the council; and the earl of Wharton, a man of vaft abilities, but void of any fteady principle, was declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland [32]. Thefe judicious promotions contributed to preferve that unanimity, which had hitherto appeared in parliament, and which produced the moft liberal fupplies for continuing the war. Seven millions were voted for the fervice of the enfuing campaign, and ten thoufand men were added to the eftablifhment of the preceding year [33]. The Dutch alfo agreed to an augmentation of their troops.

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1708.

WHILE the confederates were taking fuch vigorous meafures for the profecution of hoftilities, ferious propofals were made by the French monarch for reftoring tranquillity to Europe. A variety of circumftances, the defeat at Oudenarde, the taking of Lifle, a famine in France; the confequent failure of refources; the difcontents of the people; and a want of harmony among the fervants of the crown, induced Lewis XIV. to offer terms of peace, at once adequate to the fuccefs of his enemies, and fuitable to the melancholy fituation of his own affairs. He agreed to yield the whole Spanifh monarchy to the houfe of Auftria, without any equivalent; to cede to the emperor his conquefts on the Upper Rhine; to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lifle, Condé, and Mabeuge as a barrier to Holland; to acknowledge the elector of Brandenburgh as king of Pruffia; the duke of Hanover, as ninth elector of the empire; to own the right of queen Anne to the

A. D. 1709.

32. Id. ibid.

33. *Journals*, Nov. 1708.

PART II. A.D. 1709.

Britiſh throne; to remove the Pretender from the dominions of France; to acknowlege the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain in the Proteſtant line; to reſtore every thing required to the duke of Savoy; and to agree to the ceſſions made to the king of Portugal, by his treaty with the confederates [34].

But theſe terms, ſo honourable as well as advantageous to the allies, and humiliating to the houſe of Bourbon, were rejected by the plenipotentiaries of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the penſionary Heinſius, from the ſame motives that had led them to reject the propoſals made by France in 1706; their perſonal intereſts, their prejudices, and their paſſions. Lewis was not permitted to form the moſt diſtant hopes of peace, without ſurrendering the ſtrongeſt towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spaniſh monarchy by his grandſon. The marquis de Torcy, who was employed in the negociation, went beyond his powers in making conceſſions; but all in vain: in proportion as he yielded, the plenipotentiaries of the confederates roſe in their demands. Conference followed conference without effect. At laſt the penſionary Heinſius framed forty preliminaries, as the ultimatum of the allies; and although every one of theſe articles, beſide being hard in itſelf, was expreſſed in the moſt dictatorial language, France agreed to thirty-five of them. The other five were rejected with diſdain by Lewis, notwithſtanding the diſtreſſed ſtate of his kingdom, and the evils which he apprehended from the continuance of the war [35]. He threw himſelf upon his

34. Printed Preliminaries.

35. *M. de Torcy*, tom. i.

people,

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1709.

people, explained his own ample conceſſions, and the haughty terms propoſed by the allies. The pride of the French nation was rouſed. They reſolved to make new efforts in ſupport of their humbled monarch; and the very famine, which occaſioned ſo much miſery, proved of advantage to the ſtate in this neceſſity, as many young men who wanted bread became ſoldiers [36].

As ſoon as the conferences for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace were broken off, the army of the allies, amounting to above an hundred thouſand men, commanded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, was formed on the plains of Liſle. Mareſchal Villars, who had been called to the command of the French forces in Flanders, as the laſt ſupport of his ſinking country, occupied a ſtrong poſt between Couriere and the town Bethun. Thoſe places covered his two wings, and he was defended in front by the villages of la Baſſee and Pont Avendin. By this poſition of his army, he covered the cities of Doway and Arras; the reduction of which would have opened a paſſage for the allies into the heart of France. After advancing within two leagues of his camp, and viewing his ſituation, the generals of the confederates not judging it prudent to attack him, ſuddenly drew off their troops, and ſat down before Tournay, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ancient cities in Flanders. The citadel, conſtructed with all the ſkill of Vauban, was yet ſtronger than the town. But with ſo much vigour and addreſs were both attacked, that the place itſelf was taken in twenty-one days; and the citadel, into which

36 Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xx.

PART II.
A. D. 1709.

the governor had retired with the remains of his garrison, was forced to ſurrender at the end of a month [37].

The confederates no ſooner found themſelves maſters of Tournay, which they had been permitted to reduce without any annoyance from the enemy, than they formed the deſign of beſieging Mons. They accordingly purſued the neceſſary ſteps for that purpoſe; while Villars, having embraced the bold reſolution of protecting or relieving the place, paſſed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheld. Diſappointed in his hopes of arriving at Mons before the main army of the allies, under prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, the French general took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp about a league diſtant from the inveſted city, determined to give all poſſible diſturbance to the operations of the beſiegers. His right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extenſive and impenetrable wood of Saart: his left was covered by another thick wood; and his centre was defended by three lines of trenches, drawn along a narrow plain; the whole being ſecured by a fortification of trees, which had been cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods, ſurrounded with all their branches [38].

The generals of the confederates, elated with paſt ſucceſs, or perſuaded that Mons could not be taken without diſlodging the enemy, reſolved to attack Villars in that ſtrong poſition, although his army was little inferior to theirs, each amounting to near one hundred and twenty thouſand combatants. In conſe-

37. Kane's *Campaigns*. *Life of Marlborough*. 38. *Mem. de Feuquieres*. Kane's *Campaigns*.

quence

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1709. Sept. 11.

quence of this refolution, they advanced to the charge early in the morning, both armies having prepared themfelves for action during the preceding night. The Britifh troops were oppofed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French army. Marefchal Villars placed himfelf at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to Boufflers; who, though a fenior officer, condefcended to act under him, that he might have an opportunity of faving his country. After an awful paufe of almoft two hours, the engagement was begun; and the firing, in a moment, extended from wing to wing. Few battles, in any age, have been fo fierce and bloody, and none had been fo long contefted, fince the improvement of the art of war, in confequence of the invention of gun-powder.

The Britifh troops, led by the duke of Argyle, having paffed a morafs, deemed impracticable, attacked with fuch fury the left of the enemy, ftationed in the wood, that they were obliged to retire into the plain behind it; where they again formed, and renewed their efforts. Meanwhile the Dutch, under count Tilly and the prince of Orange, were engaged with the right of the French army; and advancing in three lines to the entrenchments, gave and received a terrible fire for the fpace of an hour. Some French battallions being thrown into diforder, were rallied and confirmed in their ftation, by the vigilance and courage of marefchal Boufflers; and the Dutch alfo yielding, in their turn, were brought back to the charge by the activity and perfeverance of the prince of Orange. Enraged at this unexpected obftinacy of the French in both wings, and per-

 ceiving

PART II. A.D. 1709.

ceiving that Villars had weakened his centre, in order to ſupport his left, prince Eugene determined to attack, in perſon, the entrenchments in front. He accordingly led on a body of freſh troop; entered the enemy's line, flanked a regiment of French guards, and obliged them to fly. Mareſchal Villars, in haſtening to ſupport his centre, was wounded, and carried off the field. But Boufflers, notwithſtanding this misfortune, continued obſtinately to maintain the fight; and when he found he could no longer ſuſtain the united efforts of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who ſhewed that they were determined to conquer or periſh, he made an excellent retreat[39].

The confederates, after all their exertions, gained little beſide the field of battle; and that they purchaſed with the lives of twenty thouſand men. The French did not loſe above half the number. But ſo impoſing is the name of victory, that the allies were ſuffered to inveſt Mons, and to carry on their operations without the ſmalleſt diſturbance. The ſurrender of that important place put an end to the buſineſs of the campaign in Flanders[40].

The confederates were leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. The elector of Brunſwick, who commanded the army of the empire on the Upper Rhine, formed ſome important ſchemes, but found the imperial troops in no condition to ſecond his views; and count de Merci, whom he had detached with a conſiderable body of forces, into Upper Alſace, was defeated by

39. Ibid.

40. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xx. *State of Europe*, 1709.

the

the count de Bourg, and forced to repafs the Rhine [41]. Certain difputes between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, relating to fome territories in the duchy of Milan, rendered the campaign altogether inactive on the fide of Dauphiny [42]. In Spain, the chevalier d' Asfeld took the caftle of Alicant which was gallantly defended by two Englifh regiments; and the Englifh and Portuguefe army, under the earl of Galway, was routed by the marquis de Bay, in the province of Eftramadura. On the other hand, count Staremberg, who commanded the forces of Charles III. in Catalonia, having endeavoured in vain to bring the marefchal de Bezons to an engagement, took Balaguier in his prefence, and clofed the campaign with that fuccefsful enterprize [43]. Nothing memorable happened at fea. A.D. 1709.

THOUGH the misfortunes of France, during this campaign, were by no means fo depreffing as fhe had reafon to apprehend, Lewis XIV. renewed his applications for peace, as foon as the feafon of action was over; and conferences were appointed at Gertruydenberg, early in the fpring, in order to adjuft the terms. A.D. 1710. But it will be proper, before we enter into the particulars of that negociation, to carry forward the ftory of Charles XII. and his antagonift Peter the Great.

THE king of Sweden, after having acted in the imperious manner already related, quitted Saxony, in September 1707, and returned, at the head of forty-three thoufand men, to Poland; where the czar had

41. Burnet, book vii. 42. Id. ibid. 43. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iii. *State of Europe*, 1709.

attempted,

PART II. A. D. 1708.

attempted, though ineffectually, to retrieve the affairs of Augustus, during the absence of Charles. Peter, who was still in Lithuania, retired on the approach of the conquering Swede, and directed his march toward the Boristhenes or Nieper. But Charles was determined that he should not escape, without hazarding a battle before he reached his own dominions.

February 8. Having entered Grodno on the same day that the czar left it, he therefore endeavoured, by forced marches, at that severe season in a northern climate, through a country covered with morasses, deserts, and immense forests, to come up with the enemy. Peter, however, safely passed the Boristhenes, notwithstanding this romantic pursuit; Charles having only the satisfaction of defeating, after an obstinate engagement, an army of thirty thousand Russians, strongly entrenched, in order to obstruct his progress, and which partly effected its purpose [44].

But the czar, though now in his own dominions, was not without apprehensions, in regard to the issue of the contest in which he was engaged; he, therefore, sent serious proposals of peace to Charles. "I will "treat at Moscow!"—said the Swedish monarch. "My brother Charles," replied Peter, when informed of this haughty answer, "always affects to "play the Alexander; but he will not, I hope, find "in me a Darius [45]." This anecdote strongly marks the characters of these two extraordinary men. Charles, as brave and confident as Alexander, but utterly void of foresight, attempted, without concerting any regular plan of operations, to march to Moscow; and the czar took care to prevent him from

44. Contin. Puffend. lib. vii. Voltaire, *Hist. Ch. XII.* liv. iv.
45. Voltaire, ubi sup.

reaching

reaching it, in the direct line, by destroying the roads and desolating the country.

Thus thwarted in his favourite project of marching directly to the ancient capital of Russia, and with his army much diminished by famine, fatigue, and partial engagements, the king of Sweden was induced to attempt a passage thither through the Ukraine, on the invitation of Mezeppa, chief of the Cossacks; who had taken a disgust at the czar, and promised not only to supply the Swedes with provisions on their march, but to furnish them with a reinforcement of thirty thousand men. These were to join the Swedish monarch on the banks of the Disna; where he expected also to be joined by general Lewenhaupt, whom he had ordered to march from Livonia, with a reinforcement of fifteen thousand Swedes, and a large supply of ammunition and provisions. Not once suspecting but every thing would correspond to his wish, the northern conquerer entered the Ukraine in the month of September, and advanced to the place of rendezvous, in spite of every obstacle, which nature or the enemy could throw in his way.

But fortune, at length tired of seconding the wild and inconsiderate enterprizes of the fool-hardy Charles, was now resolved to punish him severely for his contempt of her former favours. When he reached the Disna, he found nothing but frightful deserts, instead of magazines; and, instead of reinforcements, he saw a body of Russians on the opposite bank, ready to dispute his passage. Though his army was exhausted with hunger and fatigue, though ignorant of the fate of Lewenhaupt, and uncertain of the fidelity of Mazeppa, he determined to cross the river in the face of the enemy, and effected his purpose with little

lofs.

PART II. A.D. 1709.

loſs. Advancing ſtill farther into that deſolate country, he was at laſt joined by Mazeppa, who appeared rather as a fugitive prince, come to take refuge in his camp, than a powerful ally, from whom he expected ſuccours. In place of thirty, he was only accompanied by about three thouſand men. The czar having received information of his intrigues, had ordered his principal friends to be apprehended, and broken upon the wheel. His towns were reduced to aſhes, his treaſures ſeized, and his troops diſperſed [46].

THIS diſappointment was eſteemed but a ſlight misfortune by the king of Sweden, who confidently expected the ſafe arrival of Lewenhaupt and his convoy. Lewenhaupt arrived, but in a condition no leſs deplorable than that of Mazeppa. After three ſucceſſive engagements with the Ruſſians, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf equally by his courage and conduct, he had been obliged to ſet fire to his waggons, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and was happy to eſcape with four thouſand men; the wretched remnant of his gallant army, exhauſted with fatigue, and ready to periſh of hunger. Charles, who was in no condition to relieve their neceſſities, was now earneſtly preſſed by his miniſter, count Piper, to paſs at leaſt the depth of winter in a ſmall town of the Ukraine, named Romana, and depend on the friendſhip of Mazeppa and the Coſſacks for proviſions; or to repaſs, without delay, the Diſna and the Boriſthenes, and return to Poland, where his preſence was much wanted, and where his army might be conveniently put into winter quarters. He rejected both theſe propoſals; and notwithſtanding the

46. *Hiſt. Ruſſ.* chap. xvii. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. iv.

rigour

rigour of the ſeaſon, and although his army was in a great meaſure deſtitute of ſhoes and even of cloathing, he determined to proceed. In this mad march, he had the mortification to ſee two thouſand of his troops periſh of hungar and cold. Yet he ſtill preſſed forward; and, after a variety of obſtructions and delays, occaſioned by the hovering parties of the enemy, and the moſt intenſe froſt ever known in thoſe northern regions, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pultowa, a ſmall Ruſſian town, ſituated on the river Worſklaw, at the eaſtern extremity of the Ukraine[47].

LETTER XXII. A. D. 1709.

May 10.

But of whatever extravagance Charles may be accuſed, in marching this far, through a rugged and impracticable country, in a remarkably ſevere ſeaſon, he cannot be blamed for endeavouring to make himſelf maſter of Pultowa. It was one of the magazines of the Czar, and well ſtored with proviſions and other neceeſſaries, of which the king of Sweden was in great want. But, beſide being naturally ſtrong, it was defended by a garriſon of nine thouſand men; and Peter lay at no great diſtance, with an army of ſeventy thouſand, ready to attempt its relief. Theſe unfavourable circumſtances might have ſtaggered the reſolution of a Cæſar or a Marlborough; but to Charles, whoſe deſire of encountering danger was even ſtronger than his paſſion for conqueſt, they were only ſo many incentives to undertake the enterprize. He accordingly inveſted Pultowa with his half famiſhed army, now reduced to twenty-ſeven thouſand men, eighteen thouſand of whom only were Swedes; and yet with this ſmall force, inſufficient to cut off the communication between the garriſon and the Ruſſian army,

47. *Hiſt. Ruſſ.* ubi ſup.

he

PART II. A.D. 1709. he hoped not only to take the town, but to defeat and even to dethrone the czar, although his other disadvantages were many.

As Charles had been under the neceſſity of leaving the greater part of his heavy cannon in the moraſſes and defiles through which he paſſed, the regular progreſs of the ſiege was ſlow. The garriſon bravely repelled all attempts to carry the place by aſſult; and the king of Sweden was dangerouſly wounded in the heel in viewing the works. Meanwhile the czar, having collected his forces, advanced to the relief of Pultowa, and made ſuch a diſpoſition of his army as ſhewed that he was no novice in the art of war. Charles, though greatly indiſpoſed by his wound, was fired at the approach of an enemy whom he diſpiſed. Betrayed by a falſe idea of honour, he could not bear the thought of waiting for battle in his entrenchments. Having appointed eight thouſand men to guard the lines before the town, he therefore ordered his army to march out, and attack the Ruſſian camp, he himſelf being carried in a litter. The Swedes charged July 11. with incredible fury, and broke the Ruſſian cavalry. But the horſe rallied behind the foot, which remained firm; and the czar's artillery made ſuch havock among the ranks of the aſſailants, that, after a deſperate combat of two hours, the Swediſh army was utterly routed and diſperſed. Nine thouſand of the vanquiſhed were left dead in the field, and about ſix thouſand taken, together with the king's military cheſt, containing the ſpoils of Poland and Saxony. The remains of the Flemiſh army, to the number of twelve thouſand, were obliged to ſurrender on the banks of the Boriſthenes, for want of boats to carry them over the river; Charles himſelf, accompained by three

three hundred of his guards, with difficulty escaping to Bendar, a Turkish town in Moldavia [48].

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1709.

No victory was ever attended with more important consequences than that gained at Pultowa, by Peter the Great. The king of Sweden lost, in one day, the fruits of nine years of successful war; and that veteran army, which hand spread terror over Europe, was totally annihilated. The czar was not only relieved from all apprehensions inspired by a powerful antagonist, in the heart of his dominions, who threatened to deprive him of his throne, and to overthrow that grand scheme which he had formed for the civilization of his extensive empire, but enabled to forward his plan of improvement by means of the industry and ingenuity of his Swedish prisoners, whom necessity obliged to exert their talents in the most remote parts of Siberia. The elector of Saxony, hearing of the defeat of his conqueror, protested against the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, as extorted from him by force, and re-entered Poland. His patron the czar, followed him. Stanislaus was forced to relinquish his authority, and Augustus found himself once more in possession of the Polish throne. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of the czars to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scania; the king of Prussia to Pomerania; and had not the emperor and the maritime powers interposed, the Swedish monarchy would have been rent to pieces.

DURING these transactions Charles XII. remained at Bender; where, through his intrigues, conducted

48. Voltaire, ubi sup. *Hist. du Nord*, tom. ii. Contin. of Puffendorf. lib. vii.

by

PART II. A.D. 1710.

by Poniatowſky, a Poliſh nobleman who ſhared his misfortunes, he endeavoured to engage the Turks in a war with Ruſſia. In the proſecution of thoſe intrigues we muſt leave him, and the czar in the more laudable employment of civilizing his ſubjects, till we have terminated the memorable war between the confederates and the houſe of Bourbon, in regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

LETTER XXIII.

The General View of EUROPE *carried forward, from the opening of the Conferences at* GERTRUYDENBERG, *to the Treaties of* UTRECHT *and* RASTADT.

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1710.

THOUGH the king of Sweden, during his proſperity, ſhewed no inclination to interfere in the diſpute between France and the confederates, Lewis XIV. had ſtill expectations of being able to engage him in his cauſe. Theſe expectations were conſiderably heightened by the keen indignation which Charles expreſſed at the emperor's open violation of the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt, as ſoon as he recovered from the terror of the Swediſh arms. The allies were, therefore, relieved from no ſmall degree of anxiety, by the total ruin of that prince's affairs; and Lewis was deprived of the laſt hope of deſponding ambition. He accordingly offered the moſt advantageous terms of peace, in the preliminaries that were made the foundation of the conferences at Gertruydenberg.

As

LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1710.

• As the principal ſacrifices in theſe preliminaries were the ſame with thoſe proffered in 1709, it will be unneceſſary to repeat them here; more eſpecially as they were not accepted. Lewis made additions to his conceſſions, after the commencement of the negociation. He agreed not only to give up, as far as in his power, the Spaniſh monarchy, without any equivalent, and to acknowledge Charles III. lawful king of Spain, but to pay a ſubſidy of a million of livres a month, till his grandſon Philip V. ſhould be expelled. He relinquiſhed even Alſace to the emperor; and, as a ſecurity for the performance of the articles of the treaty, he engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders, yet in his poſſeſſion, into the hands of the allies. But the haughtineſs of the States, to whom prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, ſecure of the controuling influence of the penſionary Heinſius, had induced the emperor and the queen of England to commit the whole management of the negociation, encouraged their deputies, Buys and Vander Duſſen, to riſe in their demands, in proportion as the plenipotentiaries of France advanced in their conceſſions. Theſe inſolent republicans went ſo far as to inſiſt, That Lewis XIV. inſtead of paying a ſubſidy toward the war againſt Philip V. ſhould aſſiſt the confederates with all his forces, to drive his grandſon from the Spaniſh throne [1].

It was impoſſible for the French monarch to ſubmit to ſo humiliating a requiſition; and yet he was unwilling to break off the treaty. The conferences at Gertruydenberg were, therefore, idly protracted, while the armies, on both ſides, took the field. At

1. De Torcy, tom. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1710. length, the marefchal d'Uxelles and the Abbé de Polignac, the plenipotentiaries of Lewis, returned to Verfailles, after having fent a letter to the penfionary Heinfius, declaring the demands of the deputies of the States unjuft and unreafonable [2].

In the mean time the confederates were making rapid progrefs in Flanders. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, having affembled the allied army more early than was expected, entered the French lines without refiftance, and fat down before Douay. (May 5.) This city, ftrong in its fituation, but ill fortified, was defended by a garrifon of eight thoufand men. Marefchal Villars, who had now joined the French army, which he was deftined to command, determined to attempt the relief of the place. He accordingly croffed the Scarpe, and advanced within cannon-fhot of the allies; but finding them ftrongly entrenched, and being fenfible that the lofs of one battle might endanger the very exiftence of the French monarchy, he thought proper to abandon Douay to its fate [3]. (June 29.) It furrendered after a fiege of three weeks. Villars obferved the fame prudent conduct during the remainder of the campaign, which was concluded with the taking of Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire; places of great importance, but which were not acquired by the confederates without a vaft expence of blood.

No memorable event happened in Germany during the fummer, nor any thing of confequence on the fide of Piedmont; where the vigilance of the duke of Berwick defeated all the attempts of the allies to penetrate into Dauphiny, notwithftanding their

2. Ibid. 3. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

fuperior

ſuperior force. The campaign was more fruitful of incidents in Spain. LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1710.

THE two competitors for the crown of that kingdom took the field in perſon, and ſeemed determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. They accordingly met near Almenara. There general Stanhope, who commanded the Britiſh troops, ſlew with his own hand the Spaniſh general, Ameſſaga, and routed the cavalry of Philip V. while the count de Staremberg put the infantry to flight. The Spaniards were again defeated, in a more bloody engagement, at Saragoſſa. July 27. And in this victory, which threatened to decide the fate of the Spaniſh monarchy, the Britiſh troops, under general Stanhope, had alſo the chief ſhare.

CHARLES III. inſtead of ſecuring Pampeluna, the only paſs by which French troops could enter Spain, marched directly to Madrid, at the head of his victorious army; and Philip V. who had retired thither, was obliged to quit his capital a ſecond time. The aſpect of things there, however, was little flattering to his rival. All the grandees had left the city; and the Caſtilians, in general, ſeemed reſolved to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, rather than have a king impoſed upon them by heretics [4].

MEANTIME the duke de Vendome, whoſe reputation was ſtill high, notwithſtanding his unfortunate campaign in Flanders, having aſſumed, at the requeſt of Philip V. the chief command of the forces of the houſe of Bourbon in Spain, its affairs ſoon began to wear a new face. The Caſtilian nobles crowded, with their followers, round the ſtandard of

4. Burnet, book vii. *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne*, tom. ii.

 a general

PART II.
A.D. 1710.

a general in whose conduct they could confide. And Vendome's army, strengthened by these brave volunteers, was farther reinforced by thirty-four battalions of French foot, and thirty-one squadrons of horse, detached by the duke of Berwick from Dauphiny. Another body of French troops, assembled in Roussillon, was preparing to enter Catalonia, under the duke de Noailles; so that the generals of the allies, neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, as well as by the States General, and at variance among themselves, were forced once more to abandon Madrid.

THE confederates now directed their march toward Catalonia, whither Charles III. had already retired, in order to protect that warlike province; and, for the benefit of subsistence, they divided their army into two bodies. Staremberg, with the main body, marched in front, and Stanhope, with five thousand British troops brought up the rear. Not reflecting that hope as well as fear gives wings to soldiers, the English general allowed himself to be surrounded by Vendome, in the village of Brihuega. He defended himself with great spirit; but the place being utterly destitute of fortifications, he was obliged to surrender at discretion, after a short but vigorous resistance[5]. Nor was this all.

STAREMBERG, apprised of Stanhope's danger, had marched, though reluctantly, to his relief, with the principal army. And this unwilling aid had almost occasioned a greater misfortune than that which it failed to prevent. Staremberg had advanced too far to retreat with safety in the face of the enemy. Vendome forced

Dec. 10.

5. Id. ibid.

LETTER XXIII.

A. D. 1710.

him to an engagement at Villa Viciofa, about two leagues from Brihuega, the place of Stanhope's difafter. Between the armies there was no proportion in numbers, the allies being one half inferior to the French and Spaniards; yet did Staremberg, one of the ableft commanders in that military age, exert himfelf fo greatly, both as a general and a foldier, that the battle was fierce, obftinate, and bloody. The Spaniards, under Philip V. broke the left wing of the allies. But their right continued firm in fpite of all the efforts of the French, while Staremberg made the centre of the enemy give way; fo that Vendome judged a retreat neceffary, in order to avoid the danger of a total defeat[6].

The general of the allies however found, on muftering his forces, that, in confequence of the capture of the Britifh troops, and the lofs of men during the action, he was not in a condition to keep the field. He was befide in want of provifions, and had no profpect of fupply, at that late feafon: he therefore haftily decamped and continued his march into Catalonia, leaving to the vanquifhed all the advantages of a complete victory[7].

These fucceffes revived, in fome meafure, the drooping fpirits of the houfe of Bourbon; and, dur-

6. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick, vol. ii. This account of the battle of Villa Viciofa, though different from that of fome hiftorians, is confirmed by a letter from Philip V. to his queen, dated at the camp of Fuentes, the 11th of December, 1710. "M. de Vendome, "fays he, (after relating the progrefs of the action), "feeing that our centre "was giving way, and that our left wing of cavalry made no impref-"fion upon their right, thought it time to propofe retreating toward "Truija, and gave orders for that purpofe." *Notes*, No III. to vol. ii. of the *Duke of Berwick's Mem.*

7. Duke of Berwick, ubi fup.

PART II. A.D. 1710.

ing the campaign, a revolution had happened in the English miniſtry, ſtill more favourable to their affairs. This revolution, with its cauſes and conſequences, merits our particular attention.

THOUGH the great influence of Marlborough and Godolphin had obliged their miſtreſs to diſmiſs Harley from her councils, they could not deprive him of that confidence which they themſelves had loſt, and attempted in vain to recover. He had frequent conſultations with the queen in private; and, even while inviſible, is ſaid to have embarraſſed their meaſures. Theſe interviews were procured by Mrs. Maſham, the new favourite, who had now entirely ſupplanted the ducheſs of Marlborough in the queen's affections. But could the miniſtry have retained the favour of the people, they might have diſregarded the private partialities, and in ſome meaſure the confidence of their ſovereign. The duke of Marlborough had the ſole diſpoſal of all military employments, and the earls of Godolphin and Sunderland of all civil offices. They were in poſſeſſion of the whole power of the ſtate. And they had long uſed that power with ſo much judgment, ability, and effect, as to diſarm envy, ſilence faction, and reconcile to their meaſures all men, who did not labour under the moſt incurable political prejudices, or feel the ſevereſt pangs of diſappointed ambition. The body of the people looked up to them as the worthy followers of king William, our illuſtrious deliverer from popery and arbitrary power, in the grand line of liberty and national honour[8]: they enjoyed the moſt unbounded popularity.

BUT

8. It has been faſhionable, of late years, to repreſent the reign of William as a reign of diſgrace; and, in ſupport of that opinion, an addreſs

LETTER XXIII.

A.D. 1710.

But popularity, however well founded, is in itſelf of a ſlippery nature. The favour of the multitude in every country, but more eſpecially under free governments, can only be retained by ſomething new. They are totally governed by their hopes and fears; and theſe muſt not be too long ſuſpended, or too uniformly reiterated, otherwiſe they will loſe their effect. The Engliſh populace, during this triumphant period became ſatiated even with ſucceſs. Victory followed victory ſo faſt, and the ſurrender of one town was ſo ſoon ſucceeded by the taking of another, that good fortune had ceaſed to excite joy: and the roaring of cannon and the ringing of bells were heard with indifference. The people began to feel the weight of the taxes levied in order to ſupport the war. And they obſerved with concern, that in all the negociations for peace, while liberal conceſſions were offered to foreign princes and ſtates, no ſtipulation of any conſequence appeared in favour of the queen of England; who, after all her waſte of blood and treaſure, ſeemed to have only the glory of conquering and giving away cities, provinces, and kingdoms [9].

dreſs of the houſe of commons on the meeting of the firſt parliament of queen Anne is produced, in which the duke of Marlborough is ſaid to have "ſignally *retrieved* the *ancient* honour and glory of the Engliſh nation." But, independent of the doubtfulneſs of theſe expreſſions, this was the addreſs of a Tory parliament, and framed by men who were no friends to the Revolution. The criminal intrigues, connected with that glorious event, have not been concealed by the Author of theſe Letters, nor the faults in the adminiſtration of William. But admitting all thoſe charges even as urged by his enemies, his reign, though not highly fortunate, muſt be allowed to have been a reign of vigour, of exertion, and a jealous attention to national honour; which can never, perhaps, be purchaſed at too high a price, and which had been ſhamefully neglected during the ignominious reigns of his two immediate predeceſſors.

9. Publications of the Times.

PART II. A.D. 1710.

The Tories, encouraged by the ſucceſsful intrigues of Harley, and this change of humour in the people, which they had ſecretly contributed to produce, began to entertain hopes of once more holding the reins of government. In order to realize theſe hopes they attempted to make uſe of an engine, which had often been played off againſt themſelves. As the Whigs, who were now in poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration, could no longer rouſe the jealouſies and apprehenſions of the populace on account of their civil and religious liberties, which were ſufficiently ſecured by the Revolution and the Act of Settlement, the Tories endeavoured to awaken the ſame fears, by touching another ſtring. They repreſented the church and monarchy as in imminent danger, from diſſenters and men of levelling principles; under which deſcription they comprehended the whole body of the Whigs.

This inflammatory doctrine, as we have ſeen, had been zealouſly propagated from the pulpit, by the high church party, ever ſince the beginning of the preſent reign. The vulgar, as may naturally be ſuppoſed, gradually began to give credit to what they heard ſo often, and ſo vehemently urged; for, notwithſtanding the formal cenſure in parliament of that groundleſs opinion, it ſtill continued to be propagated. And a champion was not wanting openly to brave ſuch high authority, to improve on the ſeditious clamour, and even to bring home the charge to the miniſtry.

This bold ſon of the church was Dr. Henry Sacheverell; a man of no ſuperior talents, but who, by his violence in railing againſt the diſſenters, occaſional conformiſts, and the Whig-party in general, had recommended himſelf to the Tories and the

majority

majority of the eſtabliſhed clergy. After having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the country, by ſuch declamations, he was called, by the voice of the people, to a church in the borough of Southwark, where he had a more extenſive field for propagating his ſeditious doctrines; and being appointed to preach in St. Paul's cathedral, on the 5th of November, 1709, the anniverſary of the Gun-powder Plot, he delivered a ſermon, before the lord mayor of London and the court of aldermen, into which he poured the whole collected venom of his heart. He not only inveighed, in the moſt indecent language, againſt the diſſenters, and the moderate part of the church of England, whom he denominated *falſe brethren*, but threw out ſevere and pointed reflections againſt the principal perſons in power, and inculcated in ſtrong, and unequivocal terms, the ſlaviſh and exploded doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; animating the people to ſtand up in defence of the church, which he declared was in imminent danger, and for which, he ſaid, he ſounded the trumpet, deſiring them to put on the whole armour of God[10]! The majority of the court of aldermen being attached to the principles of the Revolution, againſt which theſe doctrines militated, refuſed the uſual compliment to the preacher, of deſiring him to print his ſermon, and were even ſhocked at the violence of the invective. But the lord Mayor, who was a zealous high-churchman, not only encouraged Sacheverell to publiſh his diſcourſe, but accepted a dedication ſtill more violent and inflammatory than the performance itſelf. The merit of both was magnified by the Tories, and

10. Burnet, book vii. See alſo the Sermon itſelf among Sacheverell's Diſcourſes.

forty

PART II. A.D. 1710.

forty thousand copies are said to have been circulated in a few weeks [11].

No literary production ever perhaps attracted so much attention as this scurrilous sermon, which had no kind of excellence to recommend it except what it derived from the spirit of party. It divided the opinions of the nation: and Sacheverell himself, extolled by the Tories as the champion of the church, now on the brink of ruin! and execrated by the Whigs as an enemy to the Revolution, as an advocate for persecution and despotism, and a devoted friend to the Pretender, was thought of sufficient consequence to be made the object of a parliamentary prosecution. That was what he desired above all things, and what the ministry ought studiously to have avoided. But they allowed, on this occasion, their passion to overcome their prudence. Godolphin being personally attacked in the sermon, was highly irritated against the preacher: and as the offence was not deemed punishable by common law, it was resolved to proceed by impeachment. Sacheverell was accordingly taken into custody, by command of the house of commons: articles were exhibited against him at the bar of the house of lords, and a day was appointed for his trial, which to complete the folly of this impolitic measure, was ordered to be in Westminster-hall, that the whole body of the commons might be present [12].

The people are often wrong in their judgments, but always just in their compassion, though that sentiment is sometimes misplaced. Their compas-

11. Burnet, ubi sup. 12. Burnet, book vii.

sion

ſion was rouſed for Sacheverel, whom they conſidered as an innocent victim; a meritorious individual, doomed to be cruſhed by the arm of power, for daring to tell the truth. They forgot all his ſlaviſh doctrines: they remembered only his violent declamations, in regard to the danger of the church and monarchy; and they ſaw him expoſed, as they imagined, to perſecution for his honeſt boldneſs. They now believed more than they formerly feared. Neglecting their private affairs, and all the common avocations of life, their concern was turned wholly toward public welfare. Many, who ſeldom entered the church, trembled for the ſafety of the eſtabliſhed religion. They wandered about in ſilent amazement, anxiouſly gazing on each other, and looking forward to the trial of Sacheverell, as if the fate of the nation, or of nature had depended upon the awful deciſion.

When the day arrived, the populace aſſembled in vaſt crowds, and attended the criminal to Weſtminſter-hall. During the whole courſe of his trial, which laſted three weeks, they continued the ſame attentions; and, in the height of their frantic zeal, they deſtroyed ſeveral diſſenting meeting-houſes, inſulted a number of non-conformiſts, ſome Whig members of the houſe of commons, and committed a variety of other outrages. London was a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. At laſt Sacheverell was found guilty; but the lenity of his ſentence, in conſequence of the popular tumults, was conſidered as a kind of triumph by the Tories. He was only ſuſpended from preaching for three years, without being precluded from preferment, his ſermon being ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

PART II. A.D. 1710.

hangman[13]. The famous decree of the University of Oxford, passed in 1683, recognizing the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, was also, by a vote of the lords, ordered to be burnt at the same time[14].

THE mildness of Sacheverell's punishment was justly ascribed, by the populace, to the timidity, not to the moderation of the ministry. Proud of their victory, they every where expressed their joy on the occasion, by bonfires and illuminations; and notwithstanding the vote of the lords, addresses were sent from all parts of the kingdom asserting the absolute power of the crown, and condemning the doctrine of resistance, as the result of antimonarchical and republican principles[15]. Of these principles the Whigs, as a body, were violently accused by the heads of the Tories, who now wholly engrossed the confidence of their sovereign, and inspired her with jealousies of her principal servants.

THE queen herself, who had long affected to adopt measures which she was not permitted to guide, was glad of an opportunity of freeing herself from that political captivity in which she was held by her popular and too powerful ministers. She accordingly took advantage of this sudden and extraordinary change in the sentiments of the people, in order to bring about a total change of the persons employed in the administration of her government. The duke of Shrewsbury, who had distinguished himself in the cause of Sacheverell, was made chamberlain, in the room of the earl of Kent: Godolphin received

13. Id. ibid.

14. *Journals of the Lords*, March, 1710.

15. Burnet, book vii.

an order to break his ſtaff, as lord treaſurer of Great Britain: the treaſury was put in commiſſion; and Harley, as a prelude to higher promotion, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; while his friend, St. John, ſucceeded Mr. Boyle as ſecretary of ſtate. The duke of Marlborough alone, of the whole party to which he belonged, remained in office: and that mark of diſtinction he owed to his own high reputation, not to the favour or forbearance of his enemies. Though his fall was already determined on, they were afraid that the temper of the people was not yet ſufficiently prepared for the removal of ſo great a commander [16].

MARLBOROUGH, whoſe character is one of the moſt complicated in modern hiſtory, appears to have been fully ſenſible of his own conſequence, as well as of the dangerous deſigns of the new miniſtry. At the ſame time that he was making profeſſions of attachment to the court of St. Germains [17], (though for what purpoſe it is impoſſible to determine,) he wrote, in the following ſtrong terms, to the elector of Hanover; with the *intereſts* of *whoſe family*, he ſaid, he conſidered thoſe of *his country* and of *all Europe* to be *inſeparably connected.* "I hope," adds he, "the Engliſh nation will not permit themſelves to be impoſed upon by the artifice of Harley and his aſſociates. Their conduct leaves no doubt of their deſign of placing the pretended prince of Wales on the throne. We feel too much already their bad intentions and pernicious views. But I expect to be able to employ all my attention, all my credit, and that of my friends, in order to advance the

16. Id. ibid. *State of Europe*, 1710. 17. *Stuart Papers*, 1710.

"intereſt

PART II. A.D. 1710.

"interest of the electoral family, and to prevent the "destructive counsels of a race of men, who establish "principles and form cabals, which will otherwise "infallibly overturn the protestant succession, and "with it the liberty of their country and the freedom "of Europe [18]."

THE new ministry were no less liberal in their declarations of attachment to the house of Hanover [19]: and Harley, soon after appointed lord treasurer, and created earl of Oxford and Mortimer, was perhaps sincere in his professions. Bred up in the notions of the presbyterians, to which he still adhered, and perhaps tinctured with republican principles, he had only made use of the high-church party as a ladder to his ambition; and although a sincere friend to the Protestant Succession, he was accused, from this circumstance, of abetting the hereditary descent of the crown, and all the maxims of arbitrary power [20].

IN consequence of these appearances, the Pretender was encouraged to write to his sister, queen Anne. He put her in mind of the affection that ought to subsist between two persons so nearly related; he recalled to her memory, her repeated promises to their common parent:—"To you," said he, "and to you "alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my "fathers. The voice of God and of nature are "loud in your ear! the preservation of our family, "the preventing of intestine wars, and the prosperity "of our country combine, to require you to rescue

18. Original Letters in the *Hanover Papers*, 1710. 19 Id. ibid. 20. *Stuart and Hanover Papers*. See also Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Windham*, and the *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. ii.

"me

LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1710.

"me from affliction, and yourfelf from mifery. "Though reftrained by your difficult fituation, "I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, "the laft male of an ancient line, to the remoteft "relation we have in the world. Neither you nor "the nation have received any injury at my hands: "therefore, Madam, as you tender your honour and "happinefs—as you love your family, as you revere "the memory of your father—as you regard the "welfare and fafety of a great people, I conjure you "to meet me, in this friendly way of compofing "our difference!—The happinefs of both depends "upon your determination:—you have it in your "power to deliver me from the reproach that invari- "ably follows unfortunate princes, and to render "your own memory dear to pofterity [21]."

But whatever effect the warm remonftrances of a brother might have on the mind of the queen of England, the folicitations of his agents made no impreffion on her prime minifter. Harley is faid even to have been hitherto ignorant of the fentiments of his miftrefs, in regard to the fucceffion of the crown. He knew that, with a natural jealoufy of her own authority, fhe was averfe againft the appearance of the legal fucceffor in the kingdom; but a more intimate acquaintance, if not a more perfect confidence, only made him fenfible, that fhe wifhed to leave, at her death, the fceptre in the hands of the Pretender [22]. He was too far engaged, and too fond of power, to retreat. He hoped however, inftead of injuring the proteftant caufe, more effectually to

21. *Stuart Papers.* 22. MS. in the poffeffion of Mr. Macpherfon.

fecure

PART II. A.D. 1710. ſecure, by his eminent ſtation, the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, and with it the religion and liberties of his country. He was, therefore, under the neceſſity of accommodating himſelf, in ſome meaſure, to the wild projects of the more violent Tories, as well as of flattering the queen's affection for her brother, by ſeeming to ſecond her deſigns in favour of that prince. And hence the great line of his political conduct was in direct contradiction to his private opinions.

In this reſpect, Oxford was exactly in the ſame predicament with Godolphin, his predeceſſor in office; who, though a Tory and a Jacobite, had been obliged, from the circumſtances of the times, as we have ſeen, to place himſelf at the head of the Whigs, and was conſidered as the leader of that party by the world. But Oxford, without the ſtrong abilities of Godolphin, who was one of the ableſt ſtateſman of any age or nation, had ſtill greater difficulties and more obſtinate prejudices to ſtruggle with. Even while uſing all his efforts againſt the reſtoration of the excluded family, and laying himſelf in the duſt at the feet of the legal heirs of the crown, he was believed, not only by his countrymen, but by the court of Hanover itſelf, to be a firm friend to the Pretender. His profeſſions were conſidered as only ſo many baits to deceive; yet did he perſevere in his principles, and in his endeavours to defeat all attempts to the prejudice of the Proteſtant Succeſſion!

The new adminiſtration, in England, was introduced with a new parliament; the former having been diſſolved, in compliance with the warm ad-

dreſſes

dreſſes of the high-church party. In the election of the members of this parliament the moſt unwarrantable methods had been taken to keep out the Whigs; and methods, ſtill more unjuſtifiable, were taken to exclude the ſmall number of that party who had found their way into the houſe. Petitions were preſented againſt moſt members ſuppoſed to favour the old miniſtry[23]. The Tories, however, though now poſſeſſed of a decided majority on every motion, and though convinced that peace was equally neceſſary to the ſafe enjoyment of their own power, and to the execution of thoſe deſigns which they had formed, in favour of the excluded family, durſt not yet venture to reveal their ſentiments to the nation. The new miniſtry, therefore, reſolved to follow, for a time, their predeceſſors in the line of hoſtility. The moſt liberal ſupplies were accordingly voted for the future ſupport of the war, as well as to make up for paſt deficiencies: in all to the amount of near fifteen millions[24].

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1710.

A.D. 1711.

THIS appearance of vigour left the Whigs no occaſion of murmuring at a change of meaſures. But their complaints would have broken out on the firſt ſymptom of relaxation; and Harley and the Tories, in purſuing, contrary to their own inclination, the hoſtile ſyſtem of the confederates, while jealouſly watched by their political enemies, would have found themſelves involved in inſurmountable difficulties and embarraſſments. Happily for the Engliſh miniſtry, as well as for the houſe of Bourbon, an unexpected event gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. This was the ſudden death of the emperor Joſeph,

23. Burnet, book vii. 24. *Journals* 1711. The exact ſum raiſed and provided for was, 14,573,319l. 19s. 8¼.

PART II. A.D. 1711.

whose reign had been one continued flow of success. He was succeeded, not only in all his hereditary honours and dominions, but also in the imperial throne, by his brother Charles; and as it was contrary to the spirit of the Grand Alliance, that the same person should possess Spain and the empire, Harley and his associates were no longer afraid to avow their pacific sentiments. The fears of mankind were in a moment changed: the liberties of Europe seemed now to be in more danger from the power of the house of Austria, than that of Bourbon.

MEANWHILE hostilities were carried on in every quarter. Dispositions had been made by the allies, for taking the field early in Flanders; but the rigour of the season, and the unexpected delay of some reinforcements, prevented the duke of Marlborough from forming his army before the beginning of May. His plan was, to open the campaign with the siege of Arras and Cambray; the taking of which two important places would have laid Picardy naked to the banks of the Somme. And the army originally destined for the service of the confederates would, in all probability, have been sufficient to enable him to accomplish this great design. But the death of the emperor, at the same time that it opened a prospect of peace, obstructed the operations of war. Prince Eugene being obliged to march toward the banks of the Rhine, with the greater part of the German troops, in order to prevent the French and their partizans from taking advantage of that event, by disturbing the deliberations of the electors assembled at Frankfort, the duke of Marlborough was under the necessity of limiting his views. But his vigour and activity were not diminished. Though now inferior in

in numbers to the enemy, he anxiouſly fought a battle, in hopes of overwhelming his political adverſaries, or at leaſt cloſing his military exploits, with a ſplendid victory. But the caution of mareſchal Villars, who was ſtrongly poſted near Arleux, deprived the Engliſh commander of any opportunity of acquiring this ſatisfaction. By the moſt maſterly movements, however, Marlborough eluded the vigilance of that able general, and got within the French lines, without the loſs of a man. He ſat down before Bouchain, in ſight of the enemy; and concluded the campaign with the taking of that important place [25].

NOTHING memorable, in the military line, was tranſacted in Germany, prince Eugene having defeated the hoſtile deſigns of the French, the electors proceeded coolly to the choice of a new chief; and the archduke, who had ſo long contended for the crown of Spain, and even aſſumed, as we have ſeen, the title of Charles III. was unanimouſly raiſed to the imperial dignity, by the name of Charles VI. On the ſide of Piedmont, the duke of Berwick, as formerly, ſucceſsfully defended France againſt the forces of the duke of Savoy. In Spain, the taking of Gironne, by the duke de Noailles, and the raiſing of the ſiege of Cardona, by Staremberg, in defiance of a greatly ſuperior army, under Vendome, were the only events of any conſequence. No action happened at ſea, nor any thing worthy of notice, except the failure of an expedition, from Old and New England, againſt Quebec, the capital of Canada, or New France. This enterpriſe miſcarried, partly from the late ſeaſon at which it was undertaken, and partly from an

25. Burnet, book vii. *State of Europe*, 1711.

 ignorance

PART II. A. D. 1711.

ignorance of the navigation of the river St. Lawrence, where ten tranſports, and two thouſand five hundred men, were loſt[26].

The general languor of the campaign, together with the elevation of the archduke, Charles, to the head of the empire, inſpired the Britiſh miniſtry and the houſe of Bourbon with the moſt ſanguine hopes of peace. They had even negociated ſecretly during the ſummer: and preliminaries were privately ſigned at London, on the 27th of September, by Menager, the French agent, and St. John, the Engliſh ſecretary. This inſidious tranſaction, ſo diſgraceful to Great Britain, being accidentally brought to light, all the other allies were alarmed. They ſaw themſelves ready to be deſerted by a power, which had been the chief ſupport of the war. And though not altogether averſe againſt peace, they could place no confidence in the negociations of men capable of ſuch diſingenuity; and whoſe ſole object ſeemed to be the ſecuring to themſelves and their adherents the emoluments of office, by putting a ſpeedy end to hoſtilities, inſtead of endeavouring to procure for their country and the confederates the fruits of ſo many glorious victories, acquired at an enormous expence of blood and treaſure[27]. "That," ſays M. de Torcy, ſpeaking of the

26. Id. ibid.

27. This accuſation is even in ſome meaſure, admitted by St. John himſelf, who was deeply concerned in theſe ſecret negociations. "I am afraid," ſays he, "that the principal ſpring of our actions was to have the government of the ſtate "in our hands; that our principal views were the conſervation of "this power, great employments to ourſelves, and great opportunities "of rewarding thoſe who had helped to raiſe us; to break the body "of the Whigs, adds he; "to render their ſupports (the Dutch and "the other allies) uſeleſs to them, and to fill the employments of the "kingdom,

the ſecret poposal of the Engliſh miniſtry to negociate with France, without the intervention of Holland, "was like aſking a ſick perſon labouring "under a long and dangerous illneſs, if he would be "cured!"

The preliminaries, when communicated to the miniſters of the confederate princes and ſtates, ſerved only to increaſe their jealouſies and fears. The reſignation of Philip V. was no longer inſiſted on. This omiſſion particularly offended the emperor: and count de Galas, the imperial ambaſſador at the court of London, in the heat of his zeal for his maſter's intereſt, having publiſhed a copy of the articles in a news-paper, as an appeal to the public, all England was thrown into a ferment. The people, always jealous of national honour, were filled with indignation at the new miniſtery, for negociating ſecretly with France; a power whoſe ambition had ſo long diſquieted her neighbours, and whoſe humiliation had been the declared object of the Grand Alliance. They juſtly ſuſpected the court of ſiniſter deſigns; eſpecially as the ſtipulations in the preliminaries fell infinitely below their expectations, after ſo ſucceſsful a war. The more moderate Tories, aſhamed of the meanneſs, if not the baſeneſs of their leaders, alſo took part with the offended allies; and the Whigs, while they allowed the ſeaſon for negociating to be arrived, execrated the mode, and attempted to render odious the men by whom the negociation was conducted[28].

"kingdom, down to the meaneſt, with Tories." *(Letter to Sir William Windham.)* "Peace," continues he, "had been judged with "reaſon, to be the only ſolid foundation whereupon we could erect a "Tory ſyſtem." Ibid.

28. Publications of the times.

PART II. A.D. 1711.

THE English miniſtry, however, were not without their abettors. The pens of the moſt eminent writers of the age were employed in vindication of their meaſures, and to render contemptible their political enemies. Defended by ſuch powerful advocates, and encouraged by the favour of their ſovereign, they determinated to ſupport the preliminaries. The queen accordingly told the parliment, on its meeting, in a ſpeach from the throne, That, *notwithſtanding* the *arts of thoſe that delight in war*, both time and place were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace; that ſhe was reſolved to improve and enlarge, by the advantages to be obtained, the intereſt of her ſubjects in trade and commerce; and that ſhe would not only endeavour to procure all reaſonable ſatisfaction to her allies, but to unite them in the ſtricteſt engagements, in order to render permanent the public tranquillity. The beſt way however, ſhe added, to treat of peace with effect, was to make an early proviſion for carrying on the war; ſhe, therefore demanded the uſual ſupplies, and recommended unanimity [29].

THE ſupplies were readily granted by the commons, who alſo echoed back the queen's ſpeach in an affectionate addreſs. The lords were leſs complaiſant. They clogged their addreſs with a clauſe, "That no peace could be ſafe or honourable, ſhould "Spain and the Indies be allowed to remain with "any branch of the houſe of Bourbon:" and this addition to the addreſs was carried, by a majority of the houſe, in ſpite of all the arguments of the miniſtry, who oppoſed it with the whole weight of government. The queen returned an ambiguous

29. *Journals*, Dec. 7, 1711.

anſwer

A.D. 1711.

answer to an addrefs fo fubverfive of her meafures; and as the vote for the obnoxious claufe was known to have been procured chiefly by the influence and intrigues of the duke of Marlborough, fhe faw the neceffity of depriving him of his employments, or of difmiffing her minifter, and ftopping the progrefs of the treaty of peace. Chufing the firft of thofe alternatives, fhe fent the duke a letter, telling him that fhe had no more occafion for his fervice; and in order to fecure a majority in the houfe of lords, twelve gentlemen, devoted to the court, were created peers [30].

THIS was an extraordinary ftretch of prerogative, and could not fail to give alarm to the independent part of the nobility; as it was evident, that the fovereign, by fuch an arbitrary exertion of royalty, could at all times over-rule their refolutions. But as law was on the fide of the crown, they were obliged to fubmit to the indignity put upon them. The body of the Whigs were filled with confternation at thefe bold meafures; and as their leaders now difpaired of being able to reinftate themfelves in the adminiftration, by more gentle means, they are faid to have planned a new revolution. It is at leaft certain, that the heads of the party held frequent cabals with the Dutch and Imperial ambaffadors, as well as with the baron de Bothmar, envoy from the elector of Hanover, who prefented, in the name of his mafter, a ftrong memorial againft the projected peace; declaring, that the fruits of a glorious war would be loft, fhould Spain and the Indies be abandoned to the duke of Anjou [31]. And every method was taken, particularly by the earl of Sunderland and lord Hallifax, to

30. Burnet. Boyer, Swift. Bolingbroke. 31. Ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1711.

impreſs the people with a belief, nor ſeemingly without reaſon, that the chief view of the preſent miniſtry was the reſtoration of the excluded family. They therefore affirmed, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion was in danger, and urged the neceſſity of ſending for the elector of Hanover or his ſon [32].

On the other hand, the Tories employed all the force of wit and ſatire, of which they were in full poſſeſſion, againſt their political adverſaries; but eſpecially to degrade the character, and ridicule the conduct of the duke of Marlborough; whoſe diſmiſſion from the command of the army, after ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs, without ſo much as an imputation of miſbehaviour, in his military capacity, they were afraid would rouſe the reſentment of the nation againſt the miniſtery. Their chief accuſation againſt him was, that, in order to favour his own operations in Flanders, to gratify his ambition, and to glut his inordinate avarice, he had ſtarved the war in Spain. Alluding to the ſtrength of the French barrier, they uſed a vulgar phraſe, which made great impreſſion on the people; they ſaid, that to endeavour to ſubdue France, by attacking her ſtrong towns on the ſide of Flanders, was "taking the bull by the horns;" that the troops and treaſures of the confederates, inſtead of being employed in expelling Philip V. from the throne of Spain, had been thrown away on unimportant ſieges, and attacks upon almoſt impregnable lines; that prince Eugene having profited like Marlborough, by theſe hoſtilities, had united with him in influencing the councils of the States, through the penſionary Heinſius; and that all three meant

32. *Mem de Torcy*, tom. ii. *Stuart Papers*, 1711, 1712.

nothing,

nothing, by the undecisive campaigns in Flanders, but to *protract* the war, and to perpetuate their own power, which was intimately connected with it [33].

But now, my dear Philip, when the prejudices of party have subsided, this accusation appears to have been malicious and unjust. It is generally agreed, at the same time it is admitted those generals had an interest and a pride in prosecuting the war, That to push France on the side of Flanders, was the most effectual way of depriving the house of Bourbon of the Spanish throne. The distance of the confederates from Spain; its vicinity to France; the necessity of conveying every thing thither by sea; the sterility of the country by reason of the indolence of the inhabitants; and the obstinate aversion of the Spaniards, in general, against a prince supported by heretics, rendered it almost impracticable to conquer that kingdom, as experience had proved, after repeated victories. But Spain might have been compelled to receive another sovereign without being utterly subdued: the duke of Marlborough took the true method of dethroning Philip V.

Though the breaking of the strong barrier of France in the Netherlands had cost the confederates much blood and treasure, as well as time, the work was, at length, nearly completed. Another campaign would probably have enabled them, had they continued united, to penetrate into France, and even to take possession of Paris; so that Lewis XIV. in order to save his own kingdom, would have been obliged to relinquish the support of his grandson, and to pull him, in a manner with his own hands, from the Spanish throne.

33. *Parliamentary Debates*, and Publications of the Times.

PART II. A.D. 1711.

throne. Of this the king of France was as ſenſible as the duke of Marlborough[34]: and hence his joy at the change of ſentiments in the court of England, and the regret of the Whigs at the loſs of ſo glorious an opportunity of advancing the intereſts of their country, and of fully gratifying their vengeance againſt that monarch.

It is, indeed, ſincerely to be lamented, and poſſibly may to the lateſt poſterity, that ſuch a change ſhould have happened at this critical period. For however impolitic it might be, in the Engliſh miniſtry, to continue the war, after the year 1706, as it ſurely was after 1709, when all the objects of the Grand Alliance might have been obtained; yet as the war was carried on afterward, at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, and with a degree of ſucceſs, which, if foreſeen, would perhaps have juſtified the proſecution of it, no propoſals of peace ſhould have been liſtened to, far leſs any deſire to negociate *ſecretly inſinuated by a French ſpy*[35], till advantages equivalent to that additional expence had been offered. Since we had committed a *ſucceſsful folly*, to uſe the words of my lord Bolingbroke, it was folly not to profit by it to the utmoſt. No ſtop ſhould have been put to the career of victory, until the houſe of Bourbon had been completely humbled.

It was on this ground that the Whigs now ſo violently oppoſed the peace, and urged the neceſſity of continuing the war, that they might have an opportunity of recovering the adminiſtration, and conſe-

34. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii.

35. Gaultier, who was firſt employed to ſignify to the court of Verſailles the inclinations of the Tory miniſtry toward peace, was a catholic prieſt, and a ſpy for France in London. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom ii.

quently

quently of wresting the negociations out of the hands of men, whom they considered as enemies to the Protestant Succession, to the liberties of mankind, and to the common cause of the confederates. They admitted, that the elevation of the archduke to the imperial throne had made a material alteration in the political state of Europe; that the power of the house of Austria, which all centred in the person of the emperor Charles, was very great; but they affirmed, at the same time, that was no sufficient reason for negociating prematurely with the house of Bourbon, or accepting inadequate terms.

England and Holland held the balance; and as they had chiefly contributed toward the success of the war, they had a right to be the arbiters of peace. In order to preserve the equilibrium of power, and effectually to prevent the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain in the person of the same prince in any future time, Spain might be given, it was said, to the duke of Savoy; the most valuable of the Spanish possessions in America, to Great Britain; and Philip V. might be gratified with a principality in Italy; after which there would still remain enough to satisfy the emperor and the States, without dismembering the French monarchy[36]. But whether we had left Philip, or placed any other prince on the throne of Spain, we ought to have reduced the power of France to a state of depression from which it would not have recovered for generations to come.

While the Whigs were occupied in contemplating those extensive plans of policy, and encouraged in their schemes by the Imperial and Dutch ministers, little

36. Publications of the Times.

wonder

PART II. A.D. 1711.

wonder they embraced raſh reſolutions, and adopted violent counſels, in order to obſtruct the negociation of a treaty, which was deſtined to extinguiſh all their hopes; to ſtrike the ſword of conqueſt from the hand of the confederates, and the wreath of victory from their brows; to deprive them of an opportunity, that fortune and valour had conſpired to produce, and which might never return, of utterly breaking the power of their ambitious enemies, and effectually ſecuring the civil and religious liberties of Europe.

As a laſt effort to recover their authority, and to prevent the ills they feared, the Whigs invited over prince Eugene to London. No leſs bold and intelligent as a politician, than able and intrepid as a commander, he made no doubt of defeating the projected treaty of peace, by embarraſſing the Britiſh miniſtry, with ſplendid offers of advantage, provided the queen would agree to continue the war. Among other things, he meant to propoſe, in the name of the emperor, that the imperial forces in Spain ſhould be augmented to the number of thirty thouſand, and that Great Britain ſhould be put in full poſſeſſion of the commerce of that kingdom and of the Spaniſh dominions in America [37].

But, unfortunately for the Whigs, as well as for the confederates, and for the grandeur and proſperity of the united kingdoms, the duke of Marlborough was diſmiſſed from all his employments before the arrival of prince Eugene, and rendered incapable to ſecond his views. The commons, being chiefly Tories, were firm in their ſupport of the miniſtry; and a majority

37. *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii. *Stuart Papers*, 1713.

had

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1712.

'had been secured in the house of lords, by the introduction of the twelve new peers. That great man was therefore obliged to return to the continent, without being able to do any thing for the interest of the allies; though, during his stay in England, it is affirmed that he suggested many desperate expedients, and some violent, and even inhuman measures, for depriving the Tories of the administration [38]. But these were all prudently rejected by the Hanoverian resident and the leaders of the Whigs; as an insurrection, or popular tumult, if not finally successful, beside the mischief it might otherwise have occasioned, would have endangered the Protestant Succession. They refused to employ any but legal means.

DURING those ineffectual intrigues, the English ministry gained a new victory over their political adversaries. Lord Townshend, who had been employed in the negociations for peace, in 1709, had concluded a treaty with the States of the United Provinces, by which Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and several places on the Lys and the Scheld, were guarantied to the Dutch as a barrier, at the end of the war. And they undertook to guaranty, in return, the *Protestant Succession*; to *aid* with their *fleets* and *armies* the *Presumptive Heirs* of the *British Crown*, whenever *that Succession* should *appear* to be *in danger* [39].

38. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii. *Stuart papers*, 1713. He is said to have proposed to set fire to London, in different places, in the night; that, in the midst of the confusion, the duke of Marlborough should appear at the head of a party in arms; that he should first possess himself of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, and then seize the person of the queen; force her to dissolve the parliament, to call a new representative, to make a free inquiry into the clandestine correspondence with France, and to punish the guilty with death. Id. ibid.

39. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii. Burnet, book vii.

PART II. A.D. 1712.

THESE engagements were perfectly conformable to the declared views of the late ministry, who had ratified the treaty, but utterly inconsistent with those of the present, as well as with their safety. They were not ignorant that the Whigs, and perhaps even the States, pretended that *this* perilous period was already arrived. They were also sensible, that France would with difficulty yield cities and towns that were essential to their own defence. And being determined to remove every obstacle that might retard the peace, they brought the Barrier Treaty, and all the transactions relative to it, before the House of Commons, under pretence that Townshend had exceeded his instructions. The commons, entirely governed by the court, voted that several articles of the treaty were destructive to the interests of Great Britain; and therefore, that he who negociated and signed the treaty, having no authority to insert those pernicious articles, was an enemy to the queen and the kingdom.

IT is not a little surprising, that at the same time the late ministry were concluding this treaty, which had solely for its object, on the part of Great Britain, the security of the Hanoverian succession, Marlborough and Godolphin, who directed the measure, were still holding out hopes to the court of St. Germains. Godolphin is said only to have regretted his fall, as it deprived him of the power of serving effectually the excluded family. "Harley, I hope," said he, "will restore the King," for so he called the Pretender—"but he will make France necessary to that "measure: I designed to have done the business alone [41]."

41. *Stuart Papers*, 1709.

MARL-

MARLBOROUGH, though perhaps less sincere in his professions, was more liberal in his promises of success. While he lamented, that he was not likely to be employed in concluding the peace, as he might, in that case, he said, have done essential service to the *old* cause, he assured the court of St. Germains, that *the eyes of the people* would be *gradually opened.* "They "will see their interest," added he, "in restoring "their King. I perceive such a change in his favour, "that I think it impossible but he must succeed; "but when he shall succeed, let there be no retros- "pect. All that has been done since the Revolution "must be confirmed. His business is to gain all, by "offending none. As for myself," continues Marlborough, "I take God to witness, that what I have "done *for many years,*" conscious that his original desertion of his benefactor could not be vindicated, "was neither from spleen to the ROYAL FAMILY, "nor ill-will to their cause, but to humble the power "of France; a service as useful to the KING, as it "is beneficial to his kingdom [42]."

THESE extracts seem to prove, That although both the late and the present ministers, Oxford excepted, intended to call the Pretender to the throne, their views in regard to that measure were very different. The former meant to connect it with the aggrandisement of Great Britain, and the humiliation of France; the latter, to lean upon France for support. And for that support they were willing to sacrifice the honour and interest of the nation; to desert the true system of European policy, under pretence of œconomy, and to sink into that state of abject dependence upon a

42. *Stuart Papers*, 110

rival

PART. II. A. D. 1712 rival power, which had diſgraced the reigns of the ſecond Charles and the ſecond James.

But ſuch obſervations apart, my dear Philip, the politics of England, during this period, afford an object for philoſophic curioſity, to which there is perhaps no parallel in the annals of mankind. That Marlborough and Godolphin, the great leaders of the Whigs, while purſuing with zeal the views of that party, had always in contemplation the re-eſtabliſhment of the family of Stuart! and that Oxford, the head of the Tories, and a reputed Jacobite, ſhould ſecure, by his addreſs, the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwick, without being able to acquire their confidence, and while he was known to be at bottom a Whig by the queen and the court of St. Germains, whoſe confidence he was thought to poſſeſs, and whoſe views he was ſuppoſed to promote [43]! are ſingular particulars in the hiſtory of human nature.

Jan. 18. While the Engliſh miniſtry were ſmoothing at home the road to peace, general conferences were opened at Utrecht, for reſtoring tranquillity to Europe. And the earl of Strafford and the biſhop of Briſtol, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, in order to reconcile the confederates to the negociation, declared that the preliminaries ſigned by Menager, and accepted by St. John, to which they artfully gave the name of *propoſals*, were neither binding on the queen nor her allies [44]. This declaration compoſed the ſpirits of the confederates in ſome degree. But before any progreſs could be made in the treaty, certain unexpected incidents gave a new turn to the negociations, and alarmed queen Anne and her Tory

43. Compare *Stuart and Hanover Papers.* 44. Burnet, book. vii.

miniſtry

ministry for the fate of that peace which they had so much as heart. LETTER XXIII.

A. D. 1712.

The Dauphin of France, the only legitimate son of Lewis XIV. having died the preceding year, had been succeeded in his title, as heir to the French monarchy, by his eldest son, the duke of Burgundy. That prince also died early in the present year; and, in three weeks after, his son, the duke of Brittany. Feb. 13. In consequence of this uncommon mortality, which has been ascribed to the ambitious intrigues of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Anjou, a sickly infant, the sole surviving son of the duke of Burgundy, only stood between the king of Spain and the crown of France. The confederates were, therefore, filled with reasonable apprehensions, lest that union of the two monarchs, which it had been the chief object of the war to prevent, should at last be completed, after all their successes, by the death of a puny child, and the lukewarmness, if not treachery, of a principal ally. And the queen of England and her ministers were not a little at a loss how to quiet these well grounded fears.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the British ministry had not hitherto furnished their plenipotentiaries with instructions relative to the Spanish succession[42]. These were reserved for a confidential envoy, intended to be joined with the two former, and who had been employed in the secret negociations with France[43]. Though the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol were Tories, and wholly devoted to the

42. Swift's *Hist. of the four last Years of Queen Anne.*

43. Mr. Prior, so well known by his sprightly poems, and who had a principal share in all the negociations relative to the peace of Utrecht.

 court,

PART II. A. D. 1712.

court, it was not thought safe to trust them with a matter so injurious to the honour and the interest of their country.

THIS deceitful mode of proceeding, altogether unworthy of a great nation, which, as it had borne the chief burden of the war, might openly have dictated the plan of pacification, sufficiently justifies the suspicions of the allies, That the general interests of the confederacy would be sacrificed to the eagerness of queen Anne for peace; to the selfish motives of her ministers and her own views in favour of her brother, the Pretender; that become jealous of the connection of the confederates with the Whigs and the house of Hanover, she had entered into a private negociation with Lewis; and was even willing, by favourable conditions, to procure support against her former friends, from a prince whose power had been so lately broken by her arms, and for whose humiliation she had exhausted the wealth, and watered the earth with the blood of her subjects!

THE death of the princes of France, however, by exalting the hopes and increasing the demands of the allies, obliged the British ministry to depart from their resolution of sending a third plenipotentiary to Utrecht, (for purposes best known to themselves) and to urge Lewis XIV. as he valued the blessings of peace, to take some public step, for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being joined on the head of the same prince. To this end they suggested different alternatives, out of which the French monarch might form a proposal that ought to satisfy the allies. The principal of those were, That Philip V. should either resign the crown of Spain, (a measure that would be more acceptable to the confederates

rates than any other) or transfer to his younger brother, the duke of Berry, his right to the crown of France; that, ſhould Philip conſent to the reſignation, his right to the crown of France would not only be preſerved entire, but in the mean time Naples and Sicily, the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Savoy, with the duchy of Montferrat and Mantua, ſhould be erected into a kingdom for him; that all thoſe territories ſhould be annexed to France, on Philip's acceſſion to that crown, except the iſland of Sicily, which ſhould, in ſuch event, be given to the houſe of Auſtria; and that Spain and her American dominions ſhould be conferred on the duke of Savoy, inſtead of his own dominions, and in full ſatisfaction of all his demands, as one of the confederates[44].

PHILIP V. as ſoon as the queſtion was ſubmitted to him, wiſely preferred the certain poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh throne to the precarious proſpect of a more deſirable ſucceſſion, with all the appendages the confederates could offer; but the heſitation of Lewis XIV. in acceding to either alternative, evidently ſhewed he had been flattered by the Britiſh miniſtry, that his grandſon ſhould not be obliged to make a ſolemn renunciation of the crown of France, and yet be permitted to wear that of Spain and the Indies. "A king of France," ſaid he, "ſucceeds not as heir, "but as maſter of the kingdom; the ſovereignty of "which belongs to him, not by *choice*, but by *birth-right*: he is obliged, for his crown, to no will of a "prior king, to no compact of the people, but to the "*law*; and this law is eſteemed the work of HIM who "eſtabliſhes monarchies. It can neither be invalidated by agreement, nor rendered void by renun-

44 *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii.

 "ciation:

PART II. A. D. 1712.

" ciation: ſhould the king of Spain, therefore, re-" nounce his right, for the ſake of peace, that act" would only deceive himſelf, and diſappoint the" allies[45]."

SECRETARY St. John, who correſponded with the court of Verſailles on this delicate ſubject, admitted the French nation might hold, with what juſtice he did not preſume to ſay, That God alone can, in any poſſible inſtance, annul the law of ſucceſſion, be the inconveniencies to ſociety ever ſo great, but that, in England, moſt men were in another way of thinking; that even ſuch as were moſt ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to monarchy believed, that a prince might forego his right, by a voluntary renunciation; and that the perſon, in whoſe favour the renunciation was made, might be juſtly ſupported by the princes who ſhould happen to be guarantees of the treaty. In a word, he declared, that an end muſt be put to all negociation, unleſs the French monarch would accept the expedient propoſed. Lewis was, at laſt, under the neceſſity of complying; and it was agreed, that the renunciation of Philip V. ſhould be regiſtered in the books of the parliament of Paris, and ſolemnly received and ratified by the Cortes, or ſtates of Caſtile and Arragon[46].

As

45. Id. ibid. 46. *Mem.* de Torcy, ubi ſup. Queen Anne's expreſſions to her parliament, on this ſubject, are very forcible. " For " confirming the renunciations and ſettlements before mentioned," ſays ſhe, " it is offered that they ſhall be ratified in the moſt ſtrong and ſo-" lemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that thoſe kingdoms, " as well as all the other powers engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be " guarantees to the ſame. But the nature of this article," adds ſhe, " is " ſuch, that it executes itſelf. The intereſt of Spain is to ſupport it; " and, in France, the perſons to whom that ſucceſſion is to belong, will " be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right. France

" and

LETTER XXIII.

A. D. 1712. June 5.

As soon as this important article was settled, the queen of England agreed to a suspension of arms; and the immediate delivery of Dunkirk to the British troops, was the condition of that indulgence. These circumstances naturally lead us to examine the progress of the campaign.

THE duke of Ormond being appointed to the command of the British forces in Flanders, and of such foreign troops as were in British pay, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, the whole confederate army, amounting to an hundred and twenty thousand men, under prince Eugene, took the field toward the end of April. The French army, commanded by mareschal Villars, was strongly posted behind the Scheld. But as prince Eugene found that the enemy

"and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever; and thus, by "the blessing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, "and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted "from." (*Journals*, June 6, 1712.) Unfortunately this has not been the case; for although the monarchies of France and Spain have been hitherto divided, (not by the renunciation of Philip V. but in consequence of the recovery of the young dauphin, afterward Lewis XV.) the two courts have generally been as intimately united in policy, as if the two crowns had been placed on the head of the same prince: and the extraordinary exertions of Great Britain, both by land and sea, which have far exceeded all human credibility in vigour, and all political calculation of the expence she could possibly bear, only could have thus long preserved the liberties of Europe.

Instead of allowing Philip V. the alternative of retaining the crown of Spain, the British ministry ought to have insisted on his absolute resignation of that crown, for the eventual succession to the crown of France, with the immediate possession of the kingom offered him in Italy; especially as his grandfather, Lewis XIV. (as he himself informs us, in his speach to the Cortes) would have agreed more readily to this than to his renunciation of his right to the crown of France, as it afforded a prospect of extending the French monarchy. But that extension, should it even have taken place, (as we now certainly know it would not) could not have proved so dangerous to the liberties of Europe, as the *Family Compact* between the two branches of the house of Bourbon.

PART II. A.D. 1712.

had not taken every advantage of their ſituation, he made diſpoſitions for attacking them, in hopes of concluding the war with a ſplended victory; or at leaſt of forcing Villars to retire, and leave Cambray expoſed to a ſiege. He accordingly communicated his intentions to Ormond. And the heſitation of the Engliſh general, to return a poſitive anſwer, confirmed that penetrating genius in the ſuſpicions he had for ſome time entertained, that the duke had orders not to act offenſively [47]. Filled with indignation at a diſcovery ſo fatal to is own glory, as well as to the common cauſe of the confederates, the prince of Savoy made known his unhappy ſituation to the field-deputies of the ſtates, and to the imperial miniſter at Utrecht. The ſtates ſent immediately inſtructions to their ambaſſador at the court of London to remonſtrate on the ſubject. And the purport of thoſe inſtructions was no ſooner known, than a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, for preſenting an addreſs to her majeſty, "That ſpeedy orders may "be given to her general in Flanders, to proſe-"cute the war with the utmoſt vigour, in conjunc-"tion with her allies, as the beſt means to obtain a "ſafe and honourable peace [48]." A motion to the ſame effect was made in the Houſe of Lords; but the miniſtry having now a decided majority in both houſes, theſe ſalutary motions were rejected with a degree of diſdain, and the remonſtrances of the Dutch ambaſſador diſregarded. Ormond continued inactive.

NOTHING can place the ignominy of this cruel inaction, and the ſhameful duplicity of the Britiſh miniſtry, in a ſtronger light, than a letter which the States

47. Burnet book vii. *Gen. Hiſt. of Europe*, 1712.
48. *Journals*, May 28, 1712.

afterward

afterward ſent to queen Anne. "It is impoſſible," ſay they, "but we ſhould be *ſurpriſed* and *afflicted*, by "two declarations we have lately received from your "Majeſty: the firſt, by the duke of Ormond, your "general, that he could *undertake nothing* without *new* "*orders* from YOU; the other, by the biſhop of "Briſtol, your plenipotentiary to the congreſs at "Utrecht, That, perceiving we did not *anſwer* as we "*ought*, the *propoſals* which you had made Us, and that "we would not *act* in *concert* with *your miniſter* on the "*ſubject of peace*, you would *take* your *meaſures apart*; "and that you did not look upon yourſelf to be now "*under any engagements* with Us." In regard to the firſt, add they, "Have we not juſt reaſon to be *ſur-*"*priſed*, after the *aſſurance* which your Majeſty had "given Us by your letters, by your miniſters, and "laſtly by your general, the duke of Ormond, of "your *intentions* that your troops ſhould be *ordered* to act with their uſual *vigiour*, when we find a ſtop put, "*by an order in your Majeſty's name*, without our know-"ledge, and certainly without the knowledge of your "other allies, to the operations of the confederate "army?—the fineſt and ſtrongeſt, perhaps, which "has been in the field during the whole courſe of the "war; and this after they had marched, *according* to "*the reſolution taken in concert with your Majeſty's ge-*"*neral*, almoſt up to the enemy, with a great ſuperi-"ority both as to number and goodneſs of troops, and "animated with a noble courage and zeal to acquit "themſelves bravely!—We are ſorry to ſee ſo fine an "opportunity loſt, to the ineſtimable prejudice of "the common cauſe of the High Allies.

"NOR can we forbear telling your Majeſty," continue they, "that the declaration made by the

PART II. A.D. 1712.

" bishop of Bristol, at Utrecht, has no less surprised " Us, than that of the duke of Ormond in the army. " All the *proposals* hitherto made to Us, on the *subject* " *of Peace* were *couched* in very *general terms*. In some " of the last conferences, it is true, your Majesty's " ministers demanded to know whether ours were " furnished with a *full power*, and *authorised* to *draw* " *up* a PLAN for the PEACE. But it had been just, " before such a thing was demanded of Us, that they " had *communicated* the *result* of the *negociations* so long " treated of *between your Majesty's ministers and those of* " *the Enemy*; or, at least, they should have *told Us*, your " Majesty's *thoughts*, on a matter which we ought to " have *concerted together*. Yet had that plan related " only to your Majesty's interest and ours, we should " perhaps have been in the wrong not to have come " immediately into it; but as the plan in question " concerned the interest of all the Allies, and of al- " most all Europe, we had very strong apprehensions, " that the *particular negociations* between your Majesty's " ministers and those of France, and the *readiness* " with which we *consented* to the congress at Utrecht, " might have given his Imperial Majesty and the other " Allies ground to entertain prejudicial thoughts, as if " it had been the *intention* of your Majesty and of Us, " to *abandon* the *Grand Alliance* and the *common cause*, " by which they might have been pushed on to *sepa-* " *rate measures*. We thought these reasons strong " enough to justify our conduct to your majesty on " this head; and as we had nowise *engaged* to *enter* with " your Majesty into a *concert* to *draw up a Plan* of " *Peace*, *without* the *parcipitation* of *the other members* " of the *Grand Alliance*, the *backwardness* we have shewn " to that *proposal* cannot be considered as a *contraven-* " *tion* of OUR engagements; and, therefore, cannot

" serve

"serve to *disengage* your Majesty from *yours*, with "respect to Us. In truth, if *for such a cause*, between "potentates *united* by the *strongest* and *strictest ties* of "*alliance*, *interest*, and *religion*, any of those poten- "tates could *quit* their *engagements*, and *disengage* them- "selves from all their *obligations*, there is no tie among "men that might not be *broken*, and we know of no "engagements that could be relied on in time to "come [49]."

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1712.

THERE would certainly have been more *frankness* and *dignity*, though not more *honesty*, and even more *advantage*, in boldly concluding at once a separate treaty with France, than in betraying the common cause by such *double dealing*. This St. John, who was himself deeply concerned in that "double dealing," very candidly acknowledges. France, says he, would have granted more to Great Britain for peace, than for a suspension of hostilities; and the allies, seeing no possibility of altering the measures of queen Anne, would neither have attempted to disturb her councils, in hopes of inducing her to continue the war, nor have prosecuted it themselves with that intemperate ardour, which proved the cause of their subsequent misfortunes. "Better conditions would have been obtained "for the whole confederacy [50]:" and the British ministry, it may be added, instead of the accumulated infamy of *treachery*, would only have merited the reproach of being guilty of a flagrant *violation* of PUBLIC FAITH.

DURING the altercation and suspence occasioned by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond, prince Eugene

49. Printed *Letter*, preserved in many periodical publications, and particularly in the *Monthly Mercury*, for June 1712.

50. Bolingbroke's *Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe*.

laid

PART II. A.D. 1712.

laid siege to Quesnoy; and, in order to encourage the confederates, and astonish the enemy, by a bold enterprise, he privately detached major-general Grovestein, with fifteen hundred choice troops, dragoons and hussars, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, having entered Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar; levied contributions as far as the gates of Metz; spread consternation even to Versailles; and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a rich booty, together with a number of hostages, retired leisurely toward Traerbach. Meanwhile the siege of Quesnoy was prosecuted with such vigour, that the place was taken almost by assault, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war [51]. July 4.

THESE successes greatly elevated the spirits of the Dutch and Imperialists, depressed by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond; but when, instead of an order to co-operate with them against the common enemy, which they daily expected, he made known to them a cessation of arms between France and England, their former dejection returned. Their hopes, however, were in some measure revived, when they understood that the *foreign troops* in the *pay* of Great Britain *refused* to *obey* his *command*. This refusal reduced the duke to a state of the utmost perplexity, and threw the British ministry into no small consternation. They had not only lost the confidence of the allies, but fallen under the distrust of the court of Versailles. The king of France therefore thought proper to suspend his mandate for the delivery of Dunkirk, until "*all* the *troops* in the *pay* of Great Britain "should *quit* the army of the confederates." But on

51. Burnet, book vii. *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

positive

positive orders being sent to the duke of Ormond, to "*separate* the *British forces* from those of the allies," and assurances given to the French monarch, by the express command of queen Anne, that the confederates should receive no more of her *money*, the scruples of Lewis were quieted. Ormond fulfilled his instructions by retiring toward Ghent with the British troops, and Dunkirk was delivered to brigadier Hill[52]. LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1712.

THE British forces had distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner, during the whole course of this celebrated war, and in almost every battle gave the turn to victory. Their example had perhaps been of yet greater service than their efforts, though these were transcendently heroic. Prince Eugene, however, to shew the allies, that he was still able to pursue his conquests, notwithstanding the withdrawing of so gallant a body of men, advanced to Landracy, and laid siege to that important place. Villars received orders to attempt its relief. The French general accordingly put his army in motion, as if he meant to give battle to the main body of the confederates; but, after making a feint of advancing toward their right, he turned suddenly off to the left, and marching all night, attacked unexpectedly a detachment of fourteen thousand men, which had been placed at Denain, under the earl of Albemarle, in order to favour the passage of the convoys from Marchiennes. This detachment was quickly routed, and almost utterly destroyed. Four thousand fugitives and men only escaped to the principal army[53]. Beside the loss sustained in the action, fifteen hundred men were drowned in the Scheld, and two thousand fell into the hands of the July 24.

52. Id. ibid. De Torcy, tom. ii. 53 *Relation* sent by the earl of Albemarle to the States, and other papers in the *Monthly Mercury* for July, August, and September, 1712.

victors;

PART II. A. D. 1712. victors; among whom was the earl of Albemarle, with many other officers of distinction [54].

Prince Eugene, who was marching to the assistance of Albermarle, in order to prevent this disaster, had the mortification to arrive, when his aid could be of no use to his friends. In a fit of despair, he ordered the bridges on the Scheld, near Denain, to be attacked, and wantonly threw away the lives of a thousand men; for had the bridges been abandoned to him, he would not have been able to cross the river, in the face of the French army [55]. He failed, however, in the attempt. Yet would he have continued the siege of Landracy, and might perhaps have become master of the place, notwithstanding this check; but the field-deputies of the States obliged him to relinquish the enterprise, and retire to Mons [56]. Meanwhile Villars,
July 30. having taken Marchiennes, where the principal magazines of the confederates were deposited; and being now uncontrouled master of the field, reduced successively Doway, Quesnoy, and Bouchain [57]. These conquests closed the operations in Flanders. No enterprise of consequence was undertaken, during the campaign, in any other quarter.

The court of Versailles was highly elated, by a success so unexpected and extraordinary. Nor was the joy of the British ministry, at the change of affairs in Flanders, less sincere, though less public. They were sensible that the body of the confederates, unless lost to all sense of prudence, would no longer attempt to continue the war, should Great Britain desert the Grand Alliance; and consequently the Whigs, their political enemies, already humbled,

54. Id. ibid. 55. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 56. Id ibid.
57. *Gen. Hist. of Europe*, 1712.

would

LETTER XXIII.

A.D. 1713.

would become ftill lefs formidable. In this conjecture they were not deceived. The eyes of the Dutch, who had moft to apprehend, were firft opened to their own perilous fituation, and to the neceffity of renewing the conferences at Utrecht, which had been for fome time interrupted. Inftead of prefcribing terms to the houfe of Bourbon, they now acceded to the plan of pacification fettled between Great Britain and France. Their example was followed by the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. And the emperor, though refolute to continue the war, finding himfelf unable to fupport any military operations in Spain, agreed to the evacuation of Catalonia [58]; and, by that meafure, indirectly acknowledged the title of Philip V.

During thefe approaches toward a general pacification, queen Anne was eagerly folicited by the Jacobites, to take fome ftep in favour of the Pretender. In order to quiet the fears of the Englifh nation, excited by his connexion with France, he had left St. Germains the preceding fummer, and now refided at Bar, in the territories of the duke of Lorrain. And although the queen's jealoufy of her own authority, and perhaps her natural timidity, heightened by the infinuations of Oxford, made her decline all propofals for calling her brother into the kingdom, or repealing the Act of Settlement, fhe was very anxious to concert with Lewis XIV. fome plan for his acceffion to the throne, after her death [59]. What meafures were taken for that purpofe, and how they were fruftrated, I fhall afterward have occafion to notice. It will, therefore, be fufficient at prefent to obferve, That the earl of Oxford artfully broke the de-

58. Id. ibid. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 59. *Stuart Papers*, 1712, 1713. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1713. ſigns of the queen, and rendered abortive the ſchemes of the Jacobites, by dividing their councils.

Oxford, however, continued to forward the negociations for peace, as neceſſary to the ſecurity of his own power, which he hoped to preſerve during the life of his miſtreſs; and as the declining health of the queen left room to believe that her death could be no diſtant event, it is not impoſſible but the lord treaſurer, in ſecretly ſupporting the parliamentary ſettlement of the crown, might flatter himſelf with the proſpect of extending his adminiſtration even into the reign of her ſucceſſor. From theſe, or ſimilar motives, he defeated the intrigues of the Jacobites, at the ſame time that he haſtened the reſtoration of tranquillity to Europe. And the treaties between the different powers, ſo long negociated, were at laſt ſigned at Utrecht, on the 31ſt day of March, in the year 1713, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Pruſſia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor reſolving to continue the war, and the king of Spain refuſing to ſign the ſtipulations until a principality ſhould be provided, in the Low Countries, for the princeſs Orſini the favourite of his queen [60].

The chief articles of this famous pacification were to the following purport: That, whereas the ſecurity and liberties of Europe, can by no means bear the union of the crowns of France and Spain under one and the ſame prince, Philip V. now eſtabliſhed on the Spaniſh throne, ſhall renounce all right to the crown of France; that the dukes of Berry and Orleans, the next heirs to the French monarchy after the infant Dauphin, ſhall, in like manner, renounce all right

60. Id. ibid. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iii.

to

LETTER XXIII.

A. D. 1713.

to the crown of Spain, in the event of their accession to the crown of France: That, in default of Philip V. and his male iſſue, the ſucceſſion of Spain and the Indies ſhall be ſecured to the duke of Savoy; that the iſland of Sicily ſhall be inſtantly ceded, by his Catholic majeſty, to the ſame prince, with the title of king; that France ſhall alſo cede to him the vallies of Pragelas, Oulx, Sezanne, Bardonache, and Chattau-Dauphin, with the forts of Exilles and Feneſtrelles, and reſtore to him the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice, with their dependencies: That the full property and ſovereignty of both banks, and the navigation of the Maragnon, or river of Amazons, in South America, ſhall belong to the king of Portugal: That Spaniſh Guelderland, with the ſovereignty of Neufchatel and Valengin, ſhall be ceded to the king of Pruſſia, in exchange for the principality of Orange, and the lordſhips of Chalons and Chaſtelbelin, in the kingdom of France and county of Burgundy, and that his regal title ſhall be acknowledged: That the Rhine ſhall form the boundary of the German empire on the ſide of France; and that all fortifications, beyond that river, claimed by France, or in the poſſeſſion of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, ſhall either be relinquiſhed to the emperor or deſtroyed: That in Italy, the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spaniſh territories on the Tuſcan ſhore, ſhall be ceded to the houſe of Auſtria; that the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Netherlands ſhall likewiſe be ſecured to the houſe of Auſtria; but that the elector of Bavaria (to whom they had been granted by Philip V.) ſhall retain the ſovereignty of ſuch places as are ſtill in his poſſeſſion, until he ſhall be reinſtated in all his German dominions except the Upper Palatinate, and alſo be put in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Sardinia, with the title of

PART II. A.D. 1713.

of king: That Luxemburg, Namur and Charleroy, shall be given to the States-general of the United Provinces, as a barrier, together with Mons, Menin, Tournay, and other places already in their possession: That Lisle, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant, shall be restored to France: That, on the part of Great Britain, the French monarch shall acknowledge the title of Queen Anne, and the eventual succession of the family of Hanover to the British throne; that the fortifications of Dunkirk (the cause of much jealousy to England, and raised at vast expence to France) shall be demolished, and the harbour filled up; that certain places in North America and the West Indies shall be ceded or restored, by France to Great Britain; namely the island of St. Christopher, which had long been possessed jointly by the French and English, but from which the French had been expelled, in 1702); Hudson's Bay and Streights, (where the French had founded a settlement, but without dispossessing the English, and carried on a rival trade during the war); the town of Placentia, in the island of Newfoundland, (where the French had been suffered to establish themselves, through the negligence of government); and the long disputed province of Nova Scotia, (into which the French had early intruded themselves, out of which they had been frequently driven, and which had been finally conquered by an army from New England in 1710): That the island of Minorca and the fortress of Gibraltar (conquered from Spain) shall remain in the possession of Great Britain; and that the *Assiento*, or contract for furnishing the Spanish colonies in South America with negroes, shall belong to the subjects of Great Britain, for the term of thirty years[61].

THAT

61. Printed Treaties, in the *Monthly Mercury*. Tindal's *Contin. of* Rapin,

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1713.

THAT theſe conditions, eſpecially on the part of Great Britain, were very inadequate to the ſucceſs and expence of the war, will be denied by no intelligent man, whoſe underſtanding is not warped by political prejudices; and the commercial treaty, which was concluded at the ſame time, between France and England, was evidently, as I ſhall afterward have occaſion to ſhew, to the diſadvantage of the latter kingdom. The other confederates had more cauſe to be ſatisfied, and the emperor Charles VI. as much as any of them: yet was he obſtinate in refuſing to ſign the general pacification, though two months were allowed him to deliberate on the terms. But he had ſoon reaſon to repent his raſhneſs in reſolving to continue the war alone: for although he had prudently concluded a treaty with the Hungarian malcontents, in conſequence of which twenty-two regiments of his rebel-ſubjects entered into his ſervice, the imperial army on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, was never in a condition to face the French under Villars, who took ſucceſſively Worms, Spire, Keiſerlauter, and the important fortreſs of Landau. He forced the paſſage of the Rhine; attacked and defeated general Vaubonne in his entrenchments, and reduced Friburg, the capital of Briſgaw, before the cloſe of the campaign[61].

UNWILLING to proſecute a diſaſtrous war, the emperor began ſeriouſly to think of peace; and conferences, which afterward terminated in a pacific treaty,

Rapin, &c. The *Aſſiento*, which led to a lucrative contraband trade to the Spaniſh Main, proved the moſt advantageous article in favour of Great Britain. It was, however, no ſacrifice on the part of Spain, the ſame privilege having been formerly enjoyed by France.

61. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxii. *State of Europe*, 1713.

PART II. A. D. 1714.

were opened, between prince Eugene and marefchal Villars, at Raftadt. The terms of this treaty, which was concluded on the 6th of March, 1714, were lefs favourable to the emperor than thofe offered at Utrecht. The king of France retained Landau, which he had formerly propofed to cede, together with feveral fortreffes beyond the Rhine, which he had agreed to demolifh. He got the electors of Bavaria and Cologne fully re-eftablifhed in their dominions and dignities; the elector of Bavaria confenting to relinquifh the ifland of Sardinia to the emperor, in return for the Upper Palatinate, and the king of France to acknowledge, in form, the electoral dignity of the duke of Hanover [62]. The principal articles, in regard to Italy and the Low Countries, were the fame with thofe fettled at Utrecht.

ABOUT the time that the treaty of Raftadt was concluded, the king of Spain acceded to the general pacification; being perfuaded by his grandfather, Lewis XIV. to forego his abfurd demand in favour of the princefs Orfini. But Philip V. although now freed from all apprehenfions on the part of the confederates, was by no means in quiet poffeffion of his kingdom. The Catalans were ftill in arms, and the inhabitants of Barcelona had come to a refolution of defending themfelves to the laft extremity; not, however, as has been reprefented by fome hiftorians, from any romantic idea of eftablifhing an independent republic, but with a view of preferving their lives and their civil rights, all who had revolted being threatened with the juftice of the fword. Had the court of Madrid ufed a more moderate language, Barcelona would have capitulated immediately after the departure of the Imperialifts.

62. Printed Treaty in the *Monthly Mercury*, &c.

But

LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1714.

But as nothing was talked of by the Spanish ministers and generals but severe retribution, the people became furious and desperate [63].

VAST preparations were made for the reduction of this important place. And the duke of Berwick, being a third time invested with the chief command in Spain, sat down before it with an army composed of fifty battalions of French, and twenty of Spanish foot, together with fifty-one squadrons of horse; while another army, divided into different bodies, kept the country in awe, and a French and Spanish fleet cut off all communication with the town by sea. He had eighty-seven pieces of heavy cannon, fifteen hundred thousand weight of powder, and every thing else in profusing, that could be thought of for facilitating a siege. The garrison of Barcelona consisted of sixteen thousand men, and the fortifications were formidable, especially on the side toward the land. The duke of Berwick made his attack on the side next the sea, where the operations were more easy, by reason of certain eminences, behind which several battallions might be placed under cover; and where the curtains of the bastions being much raised, offered a fair mark for the cannon of the besiegers [64].

AFTER the trenches had been opened about a month, a breach was made in the bastion of St. Clara, and a lodgment effected; but the assailants were suddenly driven from their post, with the loss of a thousand men. This misfortune, and the vigorous resistance of the besieged, determined the duke of Berwick to hazard no more partial attacks. Aug. 13.

63. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

64. Id. ibid.

PART. II
A.D. 1714.

He resolved to lay the front of the place so completely level, that he might enter it, as it were, in line of battle. And he accomplished his purpose, by patience and perseverance. But before he ordered the general assault, he summoned the town to surrender. So great, however, was the obstinacy of the citizens, that, although their provisions were almost exhausted, though seven breaches had been made in the body of the place, and no probability remained of their receiving either aid or supply, they hung out a flag of defiance, and refused to listen to any terms of capitulation!—The assault was made and repelled with fury. At length, after struggling from day-break till three in the afternoon, and being driven from most of their works, the inhabitants demanded a parley. It was granted them. But they could obtain no conditions, except a promise that their lives should be safe, and that the town should not be plundered. That promise was religiously observed by the duke of Berwick, who had lost ten thousand men during the siege, and the citizens about six thousand[65]. All Catalonia submitted; and the Catalans were disarmed, and stript of their ancient privileges.

Sept. 11.

THIS, my dear Philip, to use the language of an elegant historian, was the last flame of that great fire, kindled by the will of Charles II. of Spain, which had so long laid waste the finest countries in Europe[66]. I ought now to carry forward the adventures of Charles XII. and the affairs of the North; but perspicuity requires, that I first elucidate those intrigues, which we have seen gathering in the court of England.

65. Duke of Berwick, ubi sup. 66. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxii.

LET-

LETTER XXIV.

GREAT BRITAIN, *from the Peace of* UTRECHT, *to the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion, in* 1715, *with ſome Account of the Affairs of* FRANCE, *and the Intrigues of the Court of* ST. GERMAINS.

THE peace of Utrecht, though in itſelf an unpopular meaſure, afforded the Engliſh miniſtry a momentary triumph over their political adverſaries, and highly raiſed the hopes of the Jacobites; who flattered themſelves, that the reſtoration of general tranquillity would enable the queen to take ſome effectual ſtep in favour of the Pretender, whoſe intereſts ſhe ſeemed now to have ſincerely at heart. But it will be neceſſary, my dear Philip, the better to illuſtrate this matter, to go a few years back, and collect ſuch particulars relative to the court of St. Germains, as could not readily enter into the general narration. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1713.

IN the beginning of the year 1711, the abbé Gaultier, who was employed in the ſecret negociations between France and England, waited upon the duke of Berwick, at St. Germains, with propoſals from the earl of Oxford, for the reſtoration of the Pretender. Theſe propoſals were in ſubſtance, That provided queen Anne ſhould be permitted to enjoy the crown in tranquillity during her life, ſhe would ſecure to her brother the poſſeſſion of it, after her death; and that ſufficient ſtipulations ſhould be ſigned, on his ſide, for the preſervation of the church of England and the liberties of the kingdom[1]. Theſe preliminaries be- A.D. 1711.

1. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

ing settled, says the duke of Berwick, who conducted the affairs of the Pretender, we consulted on the means of executing the business; but the abbé could not, at that time, enter into any particulars, as the lord treasurer had not yet fully explained to him his intentions. It was necessary, Oxford said, that the peace should be concluded before the English ministry could venture upon so delicate a measure[2].

MEANWHILE such of the Jacobites as were nearest the person of the queen, perceiving her inclinations, urged her perpetually to concert some plan for the restoration of the Pretender. Sincere in her own attachment to the church of England, she signified her desire that he should abjure popery, and place himself in a capacity of being *served*. But finding him obstinate, she replied, when urged by the duke of Buckingham to alter the succession in his favour, "How can I serve him? He takes not the least "step to oblige me, in what I most desire. You "know a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace. "But the example of the father has no weight with "the son; he prefers his religious errors to the "throne of a great kingdom. How, therefore, can I "undo what I have already done! He may thank "himself for his exclusion. He knows I love my "own family better than any other. All would be "easy, if he would enter the pale of the church of

2. Id ibid. "Though it appeared to me," adds the duke of Berwick, "that one of these points was no hindrance to the other; yet, "in order to shew that we would omit nothing to promote the interest "of the Pretender, and to give proofs of our sincerity, we wrote to all "the Jacobites to join with the court. And their influence contributed "greatly to make the queen's party so superior in the house of com- "mons, that every thing was carried there according to her wishes." This information is confirmed by the *Stuart* and *Hanover Papers*.

England.

"England. Advise him to change his religion; as "that only can turn the opinion of the people in his "favour [3]."

The duke of Buckingham conveyed this answer to the court of St. Germains; and, at the same time, seconded the request of the queen. But his arguments were all lost on the Pretender, who was a zealous catholic, and made a matter of conscience in adhering to his religion, in defiance of all prudential considerations [4]; an irrefragable proof of the most incurable and dangerous weakness in a prince, however commendable in a private person. For, as a sensible writer observes, if a king is not willing to go to heaven in the same way with his people, they will scarce acknowledge the legality of his authority on earth [5]. And a man who could relinquish his hopes of a great kingdom, for a speculative point of faith, discovered a spirit of bigotry, that would have sacrificed all civil engagements to the propagation of that faith. He was not fit to be trusted with power.

The majority of the Tories, however, in their vehement zeal for the hereditary descent of the crown, overlooked the danger of the Pretender's attachment to the Romish religion; and assured him, That should he only *conform*, in *appearance*, to the church of England, without the formality of a public recantation, they would endeavour to procure the *immediate* repeal of the Act of Settlement [6]. But Oxford, who never lost sight of the Protestant Succession or the security of his own power, assured the duke of Berwick, by the abbé Gaultier, on his return to France,

3. *Stuart Papers*, 1712.
4. Id. ibid.
5. Macpherson, *Hist. Brit.* vol. ii.
6. *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

PART II. A.D. 1712.

France, in 1712, That the Pretender muſt ſtill have patience; that the leaſt hint of queen Anne's intentions in favour of her brother would give the Whigs occaſion to exclaim loudly againſt the court, and might not only deſtroy the neceſſary buſineſs of the peace, but perhaps occaſion a change in the miniſtry, and even a revolution in the ſtate; that it was beſide neceſſary to make ſure of the army, the requiſite ſteps for which could not be taken till after the peace was ſigned, when it would be reduced, and ſuch officers only retained as could be depended on [7].

THE plauſibility of theſe arguments quieted the Jacobites, and the court of St. Germains, for a time. But when the peace was concluded, and the army reduced, yet no effectual ſtep taken in favour of the Pretender, his own uneaſineſs and the anxiety of his partizans began to return. They preſſed Oxford to fulfil his engagements; repreſenting to him, That, as there never could be a houſe of commons better diſpoſed to ſecond the views of the queen, he had only to propoſe the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and it would immediately be voted. It was neceſſary, he replied, to proceed more gently in the buſineſs; but that they might make themſelves eaſy, as he was ſeriouſly at work in the cauſe [8]. "In this manner," ſays the duke of Berwick, "did the lord-treaſurer "amuſe us; and it was difficult to prevent his doing "ſo. To have broke with him, would have proved the "utter ruin of our affairs, as he had the adminiſtration "of England in his hands, and entirely governed "queen Anne. We were, therefore, forced to *pre-"tend* to truſt him; but we neglected not, at the "ſame time, privately to concert meaſures with the

7. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 8. Id. ibid.

"duke

A.D. 1713.

"duke of Ormand, and other well affected perſons, "that we might be able to bring about the reſtoration "of the Pretender, if Oxford ſhould fail us[9]."

OXFORD, indeed, ſtood on ſuch dangerous ground, that he durſt not undertake any bold meaſure, whatever might be his inclinations. Equally diſtruſted by both Whigs and Tories, he was deſtitute of friends: his whole ſecurity conſiſted in the jealouſy of the two parties, and his whole buſineſs was to balance them. In order to ſilence the clamours of the Whigs, he prevailed upon the queen to declare, in her ſpeech to the parliament, contrary to her own inclinations and to truth, That "the moſt perfect friendſhip ſubſiſted "between her and the houſe of Hanover," at the ſame time that ſhe mentioned what ſhe had done for ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion[10]. This declaration had the deſired effect. But Oxford was leſs ſucceſsful in other meaſures.

THE peace was generally diſliked by the people, and all impartial men reprobated the treaty of commerce with France, as ſoon as the terms were known. Exception was particularly taken againſt the eighth and ninth articles, importing, "That Great Britain "and France ſhould mutually enjoy all the privileges "in trading with each other, which either granted "to the moſt favoured nation; that all prohibitions "ſhould be removed, and no higher duties impoſed "on the French commodities than on thoſe of any "other people." The ruinous tendency of theſe articles was perceived by the whole trading part of the kingdom. It was accordingly urged, when a bill was

9. *Mem.* vol. ii.

10. Journals, Ap. 9, 1713.

brought

PART. II. A. D. 1713. brought into the houſe of commons, for confirming them, that our trade with Portugal, the moſt beneficial of any, would be loſt, ſhould the duties on French and Portugueſe wines be made equal, the freight from Portugal being higher, and the French wines more generally agreeable to the taſte of the Engliſh nation. And if we did not conſume the wines of Portugal, it was unreaſonable to think the Portugueſe would continue to purchaſe our manufactures, in balance for which we received, in bullion or ſpecie, near a million ſterling annually; that we could expect from France no equivalent for this loſs, as the French had eſtabliſhed woollen manufactures, ſufficient not only to ſupply themſelves, but even to rival us in foreign markets; that our ſilk manufacture, which employed a number of people, and ſaved a vaſt ſum annually to the nation, would be ruined, ſhould a free importation of ſilk ſtuffs, from France, be permitted; and likewiſe our trade to Italy and Turky, where we diſpoſed of great quantities of woollen goods, in exchange for the raw material of this manufacture; that the ruin of our manufactures of linen and paper would alſo be the conſequence of a free importation of thoſe articles from France, as the cheapneſs of labour and proviſions in that kingdom would enable the French to underſel us, even in our own markets [11]. Theſe, and ſimilar arguments, induced the more moderate Tories to join the Whigs, and the bill was rejected by a majority of nine votes.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, and juſtly alarmed for the ſafety of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, the Whigs endeavoured to awaken the fears of the people, by ſeveral virulent ſpeeches in parliament againſt the Pre-

11. *Parl. Debates*, 1713. Burnet, book vii.

tender,

tender, at the ſame time that they ſolicited the elector of Hanover to come over in perſon, or to ſend the electoral prince to England. Both theſe propoſals the elector very prudently rejected. But, in order to gratify, in ſome degree, the ardour of his partizans, to embarraſs the Britiſh miniſtry, and even to intimidate queen Anne, he allowed Schutz, his envoy at the court of London, to demand a writ for the electoral prince to ſit in the houſe of peers, as duke of Cambridge[12]. Oxford and his aſſociates were filled with conſternation at a requeſt ſo unexpected, and the queen was agitated with all the violence of paſſion. Her reſentment was increaſed by the exultation of the Whigs. Seeming to derive vigour from her very terror, ſhe declared, That ſhe would ſooner ſuffer the loſs of her crown, than permit any prince of the Houſe of Hanover to come over to Britain to reſide in her lifetime. And Schutz was forbid to appear any more at court, under pretence that he had exceeded his inſtructions[13].

LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1713. A.D. 1714.

WHETHER the elector had ever any ſerious intention of ſending his ſon to England may be queſtioned, though he repreſented, in a memorial to queen Anne, "That for the ſecurity of her royal perſon, "her kingdoms, and the proteſtant religion, it ſeemed "neceſſary to ſettle in Britain ſome prince of the "electoral family[14];" but it is certain that the Jacobites had formed a deſign of bringing over the Pretender, and that he himſelf and his adherents entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations of his ſpeedy exaltation to the throne. Theſe expectations were heightened by the *promiſed* regulation of the army.

12 *Hanover Papers*, April, 1714. 13. Id. ibid.
14. *Hanover Papers*, May, 1714.

The

PART II. A.D. 1714. The duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair, and all other officers of diſtinction, whom the Jacobites and more violent Tories ſuſpected would ſupport the Act of Settlement, were removed from their military employments; and the command of the whole regular troops in the kingdom was veſted in the hands of the duke of Ormond and his creatures, who were known to be well affected to the excluded family.

THIS meaſure, however, of which St. John, now created lord Bolingbroke, not Oxford, was the author, is ſaid to have been dictated by a jealouſy of the ambitious deſigns of the Whigs and the houſe of Hanover (who are accuſed of having formed a ſcheme for ſeizing the reins of government) rather than by any attachment to the intereſts of the Pretender. But be that as it may, we know that a meaſure fatal to the Pretender's views was adopted by the Britiſh miniſtry, in order to quiet the fears of the elector, and to engage him to keep his ſon at home; queen Anne's fears from the family of Hanover being ultimately more than a balance for her affection for her own.

INFORMATION having been obtained, by the vigilance of the earl of Wharton, that certain Iriſh officers were enliſting men for the Pretender, they were taken into cuſtody. The people were alarmed, and the Whigs added artfully to their fears. The lord treaſurer, in concert with the Whigs, wrought ſo much on the natural timidity of the duke of Shrewſbury, that he joined him on this occaſion; and, through their combined influence, the majority of the cabinet-council agreed to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds

for

for apprehending the Pretender, ſhould he land in Great Britain. The two houſes of parliament voted an addreſs of thanks to the queen for her attention to the religion and liberties of the kingdom; and the commons, in their zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, extended the reward for apprehending the Pretender to one hundred thouſand pounds [15].

LETTER XXIV.

A.D. 1714.

THAT prince, however, perſuaded that the queen and the chief nobility and gentry, whatever ſteps they might take to quiet the populace, were ſincerely in his intereſt, did not yet deſpair of being able to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors:—and the proſpect of a change in the miniſtry inſpired him with new hopes. Bolingbroke, by flattering the prejudices of his miſtreſs, had gradually ſupplanted the earl of Oxford in her confidence. He repreſented to her the languor of the lord treaſurers meaſures: he gave inſinuations concerning his ſecret intrigues with the Whigs; and he ſuggeſted to her, that to pay any attention, in future, to the houſe of Hanover was incompatible with her ſervice [16]. Similar repreſentations were made by the duke of Ormond, and other Jacobites, whom the duke of Berwick eagerly ſolicited to procure the removal of the lord high treaſurer, as a neceſſary prelude to the accompliſhment of the queen's deſigns in favour of her brother [17]. Oxford was accordingly deprived

15. *Journals*, June 24, 1714. *Hanover and Stuart Papers*, 1714.

16. *Hanover Papers*, July 20, 1714.

17. Duke Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. The plan which the duke of Berwick had formed for the accompliſhment of theſe deſigns, and which he commiſſioned Gualtier to lay before the earl of Oxford, was, that the Pretender ſhould go privately over to the queen his ſiſter, who ſhould immediately aſſemble the two houſes of parliament, and explain her brother's inconteſtable right, and the reſolution ſhe had taken to reſtore what

PART II. A.D. 1714. Aug. 1.

prived of his office. But the queen's death, which happened only four days after, and before the new administration was properly formed, left open the succession to the elector of Hanover, and disappointed the hopes of the Pretender and his adherants.

The character of this princess, who died in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign, is neither striking nor complicated. Though not altogether destitute of female accomplishments, she had nothing captivating, as a women, either in her manner or person: she could only be reputed sensible and agreeable. Her failure of Duty as a daughter excepted, her conduct in private life appears to have been highly exemplary. She was a loving wife, a tender

what belonged to him, by all laws divine and human; that she should, at the same time, assure them she would pass such acts as might be thought necessary for the security of their religion and liberty; that she should then introduce the Pretender in full parliament, and say, "Here he is, "my lords and gentlemen, ready to promise religiously to keep all I have "engaged for him, and to swear to the observance of every article; I "therefore require of you instantly to repeal all the acts passed against "him, and to acknowledge him as my heir and your future sovereign, "that he may owe you some good will for having concurred with me, "in what your conscience, your duty, and your honour, should have "prompted you before this time to propose." Id. ibid.

Such an unexpected step, though somewhat romantic at first sight, the duke imagined would so much have astonished the factious, and delighted the well-affected, that there would not have been the least opposition to the queen's demands, as no person could have doubted but she had taken effectual measures to secure obedience. But as the earl of Oxford returned no answer to this proposal, the mareschal of Berwick very justly concluded, That the lord high treasurer's only motive, in all the advances he had hitherto made to the court of St. Germains, had been his own interest, in endeavouring to join the Jacobites with the Tories, and by such means to secure a majority in parliament in favour of the peace; and that, as soon as the treaty was concluded, he thought of nothing but to be upon good terms with the Whigs and the house of Hanover. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* ubi sup.

mother,

mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent miſtreſs. As a ſovereign, notwithſtanding the illuſtrious events of her reign, ſhe is entitled to little praiſe: ſhe poſſeſſed neither vigour of mind, ſplendid talents, nor a deep penetration into human affairs. A prey to the moſt enſlaving timidity, and continually governed by favourites, ſhe can hardly be ſaid to have ever thought for herſelf, or to have acted according to her own inclinations. But as her popularity concealed the weakneſs of her perſonal authority, the great abilities of her principal ſervants, to whom ſhe owed that popularrity, threw a ſplendid veil over the feeble qualities of queen Anne.

DURING an interval of her illneſs, which was a kind of lethargic dozing, brought on by violent agitation of mind, on account of the critical ſtate of her affairs, ſhe delivered the treaſurer's ſtaff to the duke of Shrewſbury. That noblemen was attached to the excluded family; but his caution had hitherto made him temporiſe, and it was now too late to take any effectual ſtep in favour of the Pretender. The Whigs were highly elated at the near proſpect of an event, which they flattered themſelves would not only diſpel all their fears, in regard to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, but prove alike friendly to their power and to their principles. The Tories were depreſſed in an equal degree; and the Jacobites were utterly diſconcerted, all their projects being yet in embryo. Animated with the ardour of their party, and perhaps by a zeal for the welfare of their country, the dukes of Summerſet and Argyle boldly entered the council-chamber, without being ſummoned. Though their preſence was little acceptable, and ſo unexpected, that their appearance filled the council with conſternation,

PART II. A. D. 1714. they were desired by the timid Shewsbury to take their places, and thanked for their readiness to give their assistance at such a crisis. Other Whig members joined them; and a multitude of the nobility and gentry being assembled, as soon as the queen expired, orders were given, agreeable to the Act of Settlement, to proclaim GEORGE, elector of Brunswick, King of Great Britian[18]. A regency was appointed according to his nomination, his title was owned by foreign princes and states, and all things continued quiet in England until his arrival.

Sept. 17. GEORGE I. ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fourth year of his age; and the same prudence, which had hitherto distinguished him, in his negociations with the British court, was conspicuous throughout his reign. In contradistinction to the ungenerous and impolitic maxim, too frequently embraced by the princes of the house of Stuart, of trusting to the attachment of their friends, without rewarding them, and attempting, by favours, to make friends of their enemies, he made it a rule never to forget his friends, and to set his enemies at defiance. Conformable to this mode of thinking, which he perhaps carried to excess, he placed not only the administration, but all the principal employments of the kingdom, both civil and military, in the hands of the Whigs. The treasury and admiralty were put in commission; the command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and restored to the duke of Marlborough; the duke of Argyle was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; the great seal was given to lord Cowper, the privy seal to the

18. *Monthly Mercury* for July 1714. Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. vi.

earl

earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. Lord Townſhend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the duke of Somerſet was nominated maſter of the horſe, Mr. Pulteney ſecretary at war, and Mr. Walpole pay-maſter-general. A new parliament was called, in which the intereſt of the Whigs predominated; and a ſecret committee, choſen by ballot, was appointed to examine all the papers, and inquire into all the negociations relative to the late peace, as well as to the ceſſation of arms, by which it was preceded.

LETTER XXIV.

A.D. 1714.

A.D. 1715.

THE *Committee of Secrecy* proſecuted their inquiry with the greateſt eagerneſs; and, in conſequence of their report, the commons reſolved to impeach lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Ormond, of high-treaſon. The grounds of theſe impeachments were, the ſhare which Oxford and Bolingbroke had in the clandeſtine negociations with France, and Ormond's acting in concert with Villars, after the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms[19]. More timid, or conſcious of ſuperior guilt, Bolingbroke and Ormond made their eſcape to the continent, while Oxford continued to attend his duty in parliament, and was committed to the Tower. His behaviour, throughout the proſecution, was firm and manly. When impeached by the commons at the bar of the houſe of lords, all the arguments of his friends being found inſufficient to acquit him, he ſpoke to the following purport. "The whole charge againſt me may be reduced to the negociating and concluding the peace of Utrecht: and that peace, bad as it is repreſented, has been approved of by two ſucceſſive parliaments. As I always acted by the immediate directions and com-

19. *Report of the Committee of Secrecy.*

PART II. A.D. 1715.

"commands of the queen, my miftrefs, and never of-"fended againft any known law, I am juftified in my "confcience, and unconcerned for the life of an in-"fignificant old man; but I cannot remain uncon-"cerned, without the higheft ingratitude, for the re-"putation of the beft of queens. Gratitude binds me "to vindicate her memory.

"MY lords," added he, "if minifters of ftate, "acting by the immediate command of their fo-"vereign, are afterward to be made accountable for "their proceedings, it may, one day or other, be the "cafe of every member of this auguft affembly. I do "not doubt, therefore, that, out of regard to your-"felves, your lordfhips will give me an equitable hear-"ing; and I hope that, in the profecution of this en-"quiry, it will appear I have *merited* not only the *in-"dulgence*, but the favour of the *prefent government*[20]." The government feems at laft to have been made fen-fible of the truth of this affertion; for Oxford, when brought to his trial, after lying near two years in pri-fon, was difmiffed for want of accufers, the commons not chufing to appear againft him.

To thefe profecutions, which have been reprefented as vindictive, and the partiality of the king to the Whigs, the rebellion that difturbed the beginning of this reign has been afcribed; but very unjuftly. The profecutions were neceffary, in order to free the na-tion from the impufation of having connived at a fhameful breach of public faith: and if George I. had not thrown himfelf into the hands of the Whigs, he muft foon have returned to Hanover. Of all the

20. *Parl. Hift.* 1715.

parties

LETTER XXIV.

A.D. 1715.

parties in the kingdom, they only were ſincerely attached to his cauſe, or could now be ſaid firmly to adhere to the principles of the Revolution. The more moderate Tories might perhaps have been gained, but the animoſity between them and the Whigs was yet too keen to admit of a coalition. Beſide, ſuch a coalition, though it might have quieted, in appearance, ſome factious leaders, and produced a momentary calm, would have been dangerous to the eſtabliſhed government.

The Tories were in general inclined to Jacobitiſm. The heads of the party, both in England and Scotland, held a ſecret correſpondence with the Pretender; and, although no regular concert had been formed, a tendency toward an inſurrection appeared among them, from one end of the iſland to the other, and the moſt artful means were employed to inflame the body of the people, as well as to ſecure particular adherents. The diſbanded officers were gained by money [21]; ſcandalous libels were publiſhed againſt the electoral family; the Pretender's manifeſtoes were every where diſperſed: all the Whigs were brought under the deſcription of diſſenters, and the cry of the danger of the church was revived.

During theſe diſcontents and cabals, which were chiefly occaſioned by the diſappointment of the Jacobites and more violent Tories, in conſequence of the premature death of queen Anne, the zeal and loyalty of the Whigs only could have ſupported king George upon the throne of Great Britain; and a ſmall body of foreign troops was only wanting, to have made the conteſt doubtful between the houſe of Stuart and that

21 Duke of Berwick's *Mem*, vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1715.

of Hanover. Such a body of troops the duke of Ormond, and other zealous Jacobites in England, eagerly ſolicited from the Pretender, as neceſſary to render their deſigns in his favour ſucceſsful.

CONVINCED of the reaſonableneſs of this demand, the duke of Berwick uſed all his influence, but in vain, to procure a few regiments from the court of Verſailles[22]. Lewis XIV. now broken by years and infirmities, and ſtanding on the verge of the grave, was unwilling to engage in a new war, or hazard any meaſure that might diſturb the minority of his great-grandſon. He therefore declined taking openly any part in the affairs of the Pretender; and the vigilance of the earl of Stair, the Britiſh ambaſſador in France, effectually prevented any ſecret aids from operating to the diſadvantage of his maſter.

THE Pretender, however, had ſtill hopes of being able to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors, by means of his Engliſh adherents, and the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh Jacobites, who had already provided themſelves with arms, and were ready to riſe at his command. His brother, the duke of Berwick, and the fugitive lord Bolingbroke, to whom he had delivered the ſeals, as ſecretary of ſtate, were leſs ſanguine in their expectations; yet they flattered themſelves, that ſome bold ſtep would be taken, which might encourage the court of France to interpoſe in his favour. But the miſconduct of the duke of Ormond diſappointed all theſe hopes.

THIS nobleman, after his impeachment, had retired to his houſe at Richmond, where he lived in

22. Id. ibid.

great

great ſtate, and was ſurrounded by the whole body of the Tories, of which he was ſuppoſed to be the head. He ſeemed to have ſet up the ſtandard againſt his ſovereign. And he aſſured the Pretender, he would hold his ſtation as long as poſſible; and when he could maintain it no longer, that he would retire to the North or Weſt of England, where he had many friends, among whom he had diſtributed a number of reduced officers, and in one of thoſe quarters begin an inſurrection. He had even ſettled a relay of horſes, in order to proceed with more expedition, when the dangerous moment ſhould arrive[23]. But Ormond, though perſonally brave, was deſtitute of that vigour of ſpirit, which is neceſſary for the execution of ſuch an undertaking. When informed that a party of the guards had orders to ſurround his houſe and ſeize his perſon, he loſt all preſence of mind, and haſtily made his eſcape to France; without leaving any inſtructions for his friends, who were waiting for the ſummons to take up arms, and eager to act under his command[24].

The unexpected flight of Ormond gave a fatal ſtab to the cauſe of the Pretender. It not only diſconcerted the plans of his Engliſh adherents, but confirmed the court of Verſailles in the reſolution of yielding him no open aſſiſtance. If a man, on whoſe credit the higheſt hopes of the Jacobites reſted, was under the neceſſity of abandoning his country, without being able to ſtrike a blow, the French miniſtry very reaſonably concluded, that the Tory party could not be ſo powerful, or ſo ripe for an inſurrection as they had been repreſented.

23. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

24. Id ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1715.

THE death of Lewis XIV. which happened soon after, farther embarrassed the Pretender's affairs. "No prince," says the duke of Berwick, "was ever "so little known as this monarch. He has been re-"presented as a man not only cruel and false, but "difficult of access. I have frequently had the hon-"our of audiences from him, and have been very fa-"miliarly admitted to his presence; and I can affirm, "that his *pride* was only in *appearance*. He was "born with an *air of majesty*, which struck every one "so much, that nobody could approach him without "being seized with awe and respect; but as soon as "you spoke to him, he softened his countenance, and "put you quite at ease. He was the most polite man "in his kingdom: and his answers were accompanied "with so many obliging expressions, that if he "granted your request, the obligation was doubled, "by the manner of conferring it; and, if he refused, "you could not complain [25]." It was that air of majesty, mentioned by the duke of Berwick, which so disconcerted the old officer, who came to ask a favour of Lewis XIV. that he could only say, in a faultering voice, "I hope your majesty will believe I do "not thus tremble before your enemies!" The character of this prince I have already had occasion to draw, and to exhibit in various lights.

THE duke of Orleans, who was appointed, by the parliament of Paris, regent during the minority of Lewis XV. in contradiction to the will of the deceased monarch, affected privately to espouse the interests of the house of Stuart; but the exhausted state of France, and the difficulty of maintaining his own authority against the other princes of the

25. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

blood,

blood, induced him publicly to cultivate a good understanding with the court of Great Britain, and even to take, though with seeming reluctance, all the steps pointed out by the earl of Stair, for defeating the designs of the Jacobites. Of those the most important was, the stopping of some ships laden with arms and ammunition; an irreparable loss to the Pretender, as he could neither procure money, nor leave to buy up a fresh quantity of such articles in any other country [26].

Notwithstanding these discouragements, the indigent representative of the unfortunate family of Stuart did not relinquish his hopes of a crown: nor did his partizans, either in England or Scotland, abate of their ardour in his cause. But ardour, unless governed by prudence, is a wild energy, that often brings ruin on the party it was intended to serve. It required all the cool experience of the duke of Berwick, and the great talents of lord Bolingbroke, to moderate the zeal of the English and Scottish Jacobites. The Highlanders were impatient to take up arms: they had entered into a regular concert for that purpose: they knew their force; and, confident of success, they entreated the Pretender to place himself at their head, or at least to permit them to rise in vindication of his just rights. Some account must here be given of this singular race of men.

The Highlanders are the reputed descendants of the ancient Caledonians, or original inhabitants of North Britain, and value themselves on having had the rare fortune of never being subjected to the law of any conqueror. From the victorious arms of the Romans, they took refuge in their rugged mountains, and there

26. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1715.

continued to enjoy their independency, while that ambitious people remained maſters of the ſouthern parts of this iſland. Nor has the ſword of Dane, of Saxon, or of Norman, ever reduced them to ſubmiſſion.

But although independent, the Highlanders were by no means free. Divided into a variety of tribes or Clans, under chiefs, who exerciſed an arbitrary juriſdiction over them, the body of the people were in a great meaſure ſlaves, ſubjected to the imperious will of their lords. And from that law of will, which it was the common intereſt and the pride of all the heads of Clans to ſupport, there lay no appeal; for although the Highland chiefs acknowledged the ſovereignty of the king of Scotland, and held themſelves bound to aſſiſt him in his wars, they admitted not his controul in their private concerns: in their treatment of their own vaſſals, or in their diſputes with hoſtile Clans. His mediation was all he could preſume to offer. Nor was that often obtruded upon them; the Scottiſh monarchs in general being happy, if they could prevent theſe barbarous and predatory tribes from pillaging the more opulent and induſtrious inhabitants of the Low Countries [27].

The remote ſituation of the Highlanders, and their ignorance of any language but that or their rude anceſtors, commonly known by the name of Erſe, farther contributed to perpetuate their barbarity and ſlavery. They had no means of making known their grievances to the throne, and few of becoming

27. In palliation of theſe cruel inroads, it has been ſaid, that the Highlanders having been driven from the Low Country, by invaſion, have, from *time immemorial,* thought themſelves "entitled to make repriſals "upon the property of their invaders!" (Dalrymple's *Mem. of Great Britain).* The ſame plea has been urged by the American ſavages, as an apology for pillaging the European ſettlements, and with more plauſibility, as the æra of *invaſion* is not *immemorial.*

acquainted

acquainted with the benefits of civil government, with the arts, or accommodations of civil life.

THE servitude of the Highland vassals, however, was alleviated by certain circumstances connected with their condition. All the people of every Clan bore the name of their hereditary chief, and were supposed to be allied to him, in different degrees, by the ties of blood. This kindred band, or admitted claim of a common relationship, which in small clans was a strong curb upon the oppressive spirit of domination, and in all led to a freedom of intercourse highly flattering to human pride, communicated to the vassal Highlanders, along with the most implicit submission to their chiefs, a sentiment of conscious dignity, and a sense of natural equality, not to be found among the subjects of other petty despots or feudal lords. And that idea of personal importance, as well as the complaisance of the Highland chiefs, was heightened by the perpetual wars between the different Clans; in which every individual had frequent opportunity of displaying his prowess, and of discovering his attachment to his leader, in the head of his family. The ties of blood were strengthened by those of interest, of gratitude, and mutual esteem.

THOSE wars, and the active life of the Highlanders in times of peace, when they were entirely employed in hunting or in herding their cattle, (the labours of husbandry among them being few) habituated them to the use of arms, and hardened them to the endurance of toil, without greatly wasting their bodily strength or destroying their agility. Their ancient military weapons, in conjunction with a target or buckler, were

PART II. A.D. 1715.

were a broad-fword, for cutting or thrufting at a di-ftance, and a dirk, or dagger, for ftabbing in clofe fight. To thefe, when they became acquainted with the ufe of fire-arms, they added a mufket, which was laid afide in battle, after the firft difcharge. They occafionally carried alfo a pair of piftols, that were fired as foon as the mufket was difcharged, and thrown in the face of the enemy, as a prelude to the havock of the broad-fword; which was inftantly brandifhed by every arm, gleaming like the corrufcations of light-ning, in order to infufe terror into the heart and to conquer the eye of the foe, and which fell on the head, or on the target of an antagonift, with the fhock of thunder. Want of perfeverance and of union, how-ever, has generally rendered the efforts of the Clans, as a body, abortive, notwithftanding their prowefs in combat, and expofed them to the difgrace of being routed by an inferior number of regular troops.

THE drefs of the Highlanders was well fuited to ther arms, to their moift mountainous country, and to their mode of life. Inftead of breeches they wore a light woollen garment, called the *Kilt*, which came as low as the knee; a thick cloth jacket; a worfted plaid, fix yards in length, and two in breadth, wrap-ped loofely round the body; the upper fold of which refted on the left fhoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty. In battle they commonly threw away the plaid, that they might be enabled to make their movements with more celerity, and their ftrokes with greater force. They fought not in ranks, but in knots or feparate bands, condenfed and firm.

SUCH were the people, who under their numerous chieftains, had formed a regular confederacy, and

were

were zealous to take arms for the reſtoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. Strongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the hereditary deſcent of the crown, the Highlanders could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of ſucceſſion, from political conſiderations. It contradicted all their ideas of kingſhip, and even of clanſhip. They therefore thought themſelves bound, by a ſacred and indiſpenſable obligation, to re-inſtate in his lineal inheritance the excluded prince, or to periſh in the bold attempt.

The Pretender's ſouthern friends were no leſs liberal in their profeſſions of zeal in his cauſe. They preſſed him to land in the Weſt of England; where his perſon would be as ſafe, they affirmed, as in Scotland, and where he would find all other things more favourable to his views, although they had yet taken no deciſive meaſures for a general inſurrection; though they ſtill continued to repreſent arms and foreign troops as neceſſary to ſuch a ſtep, and were told that the Pretender was not only incapable of furniſhing them with either, but aſſured that he could not bring along with him ſo many men as would be able to protect him againſt the peace-officers [27].

In order to compoſe the ſpirits of the Highlanders, who ſeemed to fear nothing ſo much, as that the buſineſs of reſtoring their king would be taken out of their hands, and the honour appropriated by others, they were informed, that the Pretender was deſirous to have the riſing of his friends in England and Scotland ſo adjuſted, that they might mutually aſſiſt each

27. Bolingbroke's *Letters to Sir William Windham.*

other;

PART II. A.D. 1715.

other; and that it was very much to be wifhed all hoftilities in Scotland could be fufpended, until the Englifh were ready to take up arms[28]. A memorial drawn up by the duke of Berwick, had been already fent, by lord Bolingbroke, to the Jacobites in England, reprefenting the unreafonablenefs of defiring the Pretender to land among them, before they were in a condition to fuppoit him. They were now requefted to confider ferioufly, if they were yet in fuch a condition; and affured, that as foon as an intimation to that purpofe fhould be given, and the time and place of his landing fixed, the Pretender was ready to put himfelf at their head. They named, as a landing place, the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and faid they hoped the weftern counties were in a good pofture to receive the king[29]; but they offered no conjecture at the force they could bring into the field, or the dependence that might be placed in the perfons who had engaged to rife.

This, as lord Bolingbroke very juftly obferves, was not the anfwer of men who knew what they were about. A little more precifion was furely neceffary in dictating a meffage, that was expected to be attended with fuch important confequences. The duke of Ormond, however, fet out from Paris, and the Pretender, from his temporary refidence at Bar, on the frontiers of Lorrain, in order to join their common friends. Some agents were fent to the Weft, fome to the North of England, and others to London to give notice that both were on their way. And their routes were fo directed, that Ormond was to fail from the coaft of Normandy a few days before the Pretender arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was

28. Id. ibid. 29. Bolingbroke, ubi fup.

to ſend immediate notice of his landing, and of the proſpect of ſucceſs[30]. LETTER XXIV. A. D. 1715.

But the Pretender's imprudence, and the vigilance of the Engliſh government, defeated the deſigns of his adherents in the Weſt, and broke, in its infancy, the force of a rebellion, which threatened to deluge the kingdom in blood. Governed by prieſts and women, he had unwiſely given, in the beginning of September, a ſecret order to the earl of Mar, already appointed his commander in chief for Scotland, to go immediately into that kingdom, and to take up arms[31]. Mar, who had been ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, during the reign of queen Anne, and who had great influence in the Highlands, did not heſitate a moment to obey. He inſtantly left London, attended by lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had long ſerved with diſtinction in Holland and Flanders; and as ſoon as he reached his own country, having aſſembled about three hundred of his friends and vaſſals, he proclaimed the Pretender, under the name of James VIII. of Scotland, and ſet up his ſtandard at Braemar, ſummoning all good ſubjects to join him, in order to reſtore their rightful ſovereign to the throne of his anceſtors, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of George, duke of Brunſwick, uſurper of the Britiſh monarchy[32]. Sept. 6.

In conſequence of this proclamation, and a declaration, by which it was followed, Mar was ſoon joined by the marquiſſes of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Mareſchal and Southeſk, and all the heads of the Jacobite Clans. With their aſſiſtance, he

30. Id. ibid. 31. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 32. Id. ibid.

was

PART II. A.D. 1715.

was able in a few weeks, to collect an army of near ten thousand men, well armed and accoutred. He took possession of the town of Perth, where he established his head-quarters, and made himself master of almost all that part of Scotland, which lies beyond the Frith of Forth.

THIS was great and rapid success. But the duke of Argyle had already received orders to march against the rebels, with all the forces in North Britain; and the Pretender's affairs had suffered, in the mean time, an irreparable injury in another quarter. The jealousy of government being roused by the unadvised insurrection of Mar, the lords Lansdown and Duplin, the earl of Jersey, Sir william Windham, and other Jacobite leaders, who had agreed to raise the West of England, were taken into custody, on suspicion. The whole plan of a rebellion, in that part of the kingdom, was disconcerted. The gentlemen were intimidated, the people were over-awed; so that Ormond, when he landed, was denied a night's lodging, in a country where he expected to head an army and re-establish a king[33]. He returned to France with the discouraging news; but, as soon as the vessel that carried him could be refitted, astonishing as it may seem, he made a second attempt to land in the same part of the island. What he could propose, by this second attempt, his best friends could never comprehend; and are of opinion, that a storm, in which he was in danger of being cast away, and which forced him back to the French coast, saved him from a yet greater peril—that of perishing in an adventure, as full of extravagant rashness, and as void of all rea-

33. Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Windham.*

fonable meaning, as any of thofe which have rendered the knight of La Mancha immortal [34].

The Pretender's affairs wore a better appearance, for a time, in the North of England. Mr. Forfter, a gentleman of fome influence in Northumberland, with the lords Derwentwater, Widrington, and other Jacobite leaders, there took up arms, and affembled a confiderable force. But as their troops confifted chiefly of cavalry, they wrote to the earl of Mar to fend them a reinforcement of infantry. This requeft was readily complied with. Brigadier Mackintofh was ordered to join them, with eighteen hundred Highlanders. In the mean time, having failed in an attempt upon Newcaftle, and being informed that Mackintofh had already croffed the Forth, they marched northward to meet him. On their way, they were joined by a body of horfe, under the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, the vifcount Kenmure, and other Jacobite leaders. They paffed the Tweed at Kelfo; and having formed a junction with Mackintofh, a council of war was called, in order to deliberate on their future proceedings.

In this council, little unanimity could be expected, and as little was found. To march immediately toward the Weft of Scotland, and prefs the duke of Argyle on one fide, while the earl of Mar attacked him on the other, feemed the moft rational plan; as a victory over that nobleman, which they could fcarce have failed to obtain, would have put the Pretender at once in poffeffion of all North Britain. Such a propofal was made by the earl of Wintoun, and

34. Id ibid.

agreed

PART II. A.D. 1715. agreed to by all the Scottish leaders; but the English insisted on repassing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, who had been sent, with only nine hundred horse, to suppress the rebellion in Northumberland.

FROM an uncomplying obstinacy, mingled with national jealousy, the rebels adopted neither of those plans, nor embraced any fixed resolution. The English-insurgents persisted in their refusal to penetrate into Scotland. Part of the Highlanders, equally obstinate, attempted in disgust to find their way home; and the remainder reluctantly accompanied Mackintosh and Foster, who entered England by the western border, leaving general Carpenter on the left.

THESE leaders proceeded, by the way of Penrith, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where they were in hopes of increasing their numbers, by the rising of the catholics of Lancashire. But before they could receive any considerable accession of strength, or erect proper works for the defence of the town, they were informed that general Willis was ready to invest it, with six regiments of cavalry, and one battallion of infantry. They now prepared themselves for resist-
Nov. 12. ance, and repelled the first attack of the king's troops with vigour; but Willis being joined next day by a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, under general Carpenter, the rebels lost all heart, and surrendered at discretion[35]. Several reduced officers, found to have been in arms against their sovereign, were immediately shot as deserters; the noblemen and gentlemen were sent prisoners to London, and

35. Willes's *Dispatches.* Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

com-

committed to the Tower; while the common men were confined in the caſtle of Cheſter, and other ſecure places in the country. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1715.

THE ſame day that the rebellion in England was extinguiſhed, by the ſurrender of Forſter and his aſſociates at Preſton, the rebels in Scotland received a ſevere ſhock from the royal army. The earl of Mar, after having waſted his time in forming his army, with unneceſſary parade, at Perth [37], took a reſolution to march into England, and join his ſouthern friends. With this view he marched to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his forces, and halted a day, before he attempted to croſs the Forth. The duke of Argyle, who lay on the ſouthern ſide of that river, inſtead of waiting to diſpute the paſſage of the rebels, marched over the bridge of Stirling, as ſoon as he was informed of their deſign, and encamped within a few miles of the earl of Mar, with his left to the village of Dumblaine, and his right toward Sheriff-Muir. His army conſiſted only of two thouſand three hundred infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry; that of the rebels, of about nine thouſand men, chiefly infantry. They came in ſight of each other in the evening, and lay all night on their arms.

AT day-break Argyle, perceiving the rebels in motion, drew up his troops in order of battle. But, on the nearer approach of the enemy, finding himſelf outflanked, and in danger of being ſurrounded, he was under the neceſſity of altering his diſpoſition, by ſeizing on certain heights to the north-eaſt of Dumblaine. In conſequence of this movement, which Nov. 13.

37. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1715.

was not made without ſome degree of confuſion, the left wing of the royal army fell in with the centre of the rebels, compoſed of the Clans, headed by Glengary, Sir Donald Macdonald's brothers, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Glenco, Campbel of Glenlyon, Gordon of Glenbucket, and other chieftains. The combat was fierce and bloody, and the Highlanders ſeemed at one time diſcouraged, by the loſs of one of their leaders; when Glengary, waving his bonnet, and crying aloud, "Revenge! revenge!" they ruſhed up to the muzzle of the muſkets of the king's troops, puſhed aſide the bayonets with their targets, and made great havoc with their broad-ſwords. The whole left wing of the royal army was inſtantly broken and routed; general Witham, who commanded it, flying to Stirling, and declaring that all was loſt.

MEANWHILE the duke of Argyle, who conducted in perſon the right wing of the royal army, conſiſting chiefly of horſe, had defeated the left of the rebels, and purſued them with great ſlaughter, as far as the river Allen, in which many of them were drowned. This purſuit however, though hot, was by no means rapid. The rebels, notwithſtanding their habitual dread of cavalry, the ſhock of which their manner of fighting rendered them little able to reſiſt, frequently made a ſtand, and endeavoured to renew the combat. And if Mar, who remained with the victorious part of his army, had poſſeſſed any tolerable ſhare of military talents, Argyle would never have dared to reviſit the field of battle. He might even have been overpowered by numbers, and cut off by one body of the rebels, when fatigued with combating the other. But no ſuch attempt being made, nor the advantage on the left properly improved, the duke returned triumphant

triumphant to the ſcene of action; and Mar, who had taken poſt on the top of a hill, with about five thouſand of the flower of his army, not only forebore to moleſt the king's troops, but retired during the following night, and made the beſt of his way to Perth [38]. Next morning the duke of Argyle, who had been joined by the remains of his left wing, perceiving that the rebels had ſaved him the trouble of diſlodging them, drew off his army toward Stirling, carrying along with him the enemy's artillery, bread-waggons, and many priſoners of diſtinction [39]. The number killed was very conſiderable, amounting to near a thouſand men on each ſide.

THIS battle, though by no means deciſive, proved fatal, in its conſequences, to the affairs of the Pretender in Scotland. Lord Lovat, the chief of the Fraſers, who ſeemed diſpoſed to join the rebels, now declared for the eſtabliſhed government, and ſeized upon the important poſt of Inverneſs, from which he drove Sir John Mackenzie; while the earl of Sutherland, who had hitherto been over-awed, appeared openly in the ſame cauſe. Againſt theſe two noblemen, Mar detached the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth, with their numerous vaſſals. But the rebel chiefs, inſtead of coming to immediate action, ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed with negociations; and both, after ſome heſitation, returned to their allegiance under king George. The marquis of Tullibardine alſo withdrew from the rebel army,

38. *London Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1715. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. *Account of the Battle of Dumblaine*, printed at Edinburgh in 1715, and Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. vii.

39. Ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1715. in order to defend his own country againſt the friends of government; and the Clans, diſguſted at their failure of ſucceſs, diſperſed on the approach of winter, with their uſual want of perſeverance.

THE Pretender, who had hitherto reſiſted every ſolicitation to come over, took the unaccountable reſolution, in this deſperate ſtate of his affairs, of landing in the North of Scotland. Dec. 22. He accordingly ſet ſail from Dunkirk in a ſmall veſſel, and arrived at Peterhead, attended only by ſix gentlemen. He was met at Fetteroſſe by the earls of Mar and Mareſchal, and conducted to Perth. There a regular council was formed, and a day fixed for his coronation at Scone. But he was diverted from all thoughts of that vain ceremony by the approach of the duke of Argyle; who having been reinforced, with ſix thouſand Dutch auxiliaries, advanced toward Perth, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon.

As that town was utterly deſtitute of fortifications, excepting a ſimple wall, and otherwiſe unprovided for a ſiege, the king's troops took poſſeſſion of it, without reſiſtance. A.D. 1716. Mar and the Pretender had retired to Montroſe; and, ſeeing no proſpect of better fortune, they embarked for France, accompanied with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction [40]. General Gordon and earl Mareſchal proceeded northward with the main body of the rebels, by a march ſo rapid as to elude purſuit. All who thought they could not hope for pardon, embarked at Aberdeen for the continent. The common people were conducted to the hills of Badenoch, and there quietly diſmiſſed. The whole country ſubmitted to Argyle.

40. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. Tindal's *Contin.* ubi ſup.

SUCH,

Such, my dear Philip, was the iſſue of a rebellion, which had its origin, as we have ſeen, in the intrigues in favour of the Pretender, during the latter years of the reign of queen Anne, not in the meaſures of the new government, as repreſented by the Jacobite writers. Its declared object was the reſtoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain; and that many intelligent men have ſuppoſed, would have been attended with fewer inconveniencies than the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover. But they who reflect, that the Pretender was a bigotted papiſt, and not only obſtinately refuſed to change his religion, though ſenſible it incapacitated him from legally ſucceeding to the crown, but ſtudiouſly avoided, in his very manifeſtoes, giving any open and unequivocal aſſurance, that he would maintain the civil and religious liberties of the nation, *as by law eſtabliſhed*[41], will find reaſon to be of another opinion. They will conſider the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, which defeated the deſigns of the Jacobites, and in a manner extinguiſhed the hopes of the Pretender, as an event of the utmoſt importance to the happineſs of Great Britain.—The earl of Derwentwater, lord Kenmure, and a few other rebel priſoners were publicly executed;

41. See Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, in which many curious proofs of the Pretender's duplicity and bigotry are given. When the draught of a declaration, and other papers, to be diſperſed in Great Britain, were preſented to him by his ſecretary, "he took exception "againſt ſeveral paſſages, and particularly againſt thoſe wherein a "*direct promiſe* of ſecuring the churches of England and Ireland was "made. He was told, he ſaid, that he could not in conſcience make "ſuch a promiſe." The draughts were accordingly altered by his prieſts; "and the moſt material paſſages were turned with all the "jeſuitical prevarication imaginable." (Ibid.) In conſequence of theſe alterations, Bolingbroke refuſed to counterſign the declaration.

PART II. A.D. 1716. but no blood was wantonly ſpilt. Theſe executions were dictated by prudence, not by vengeance.

We muſt now turn our eyes toward another quarter of Europe, and take a view of the king of Sweden and his antagoniſt, Peter the Great. The king of Sweden particularly claims our attention at this period; as, among his other extravagant projects, he had formed a deſign of reſtoring the Pretender.

LETTER XXV.

Russia, Turkey, *and the Northern Kingdoms, from the Defeat of* Charles XII. *at* Pultowa, *in* 1709, *to the Death of* Peter *the* Great, *in* 1725.

LETTER XXV. A.D. 1709. The defeat of the king of Sweden at Pultowa, as I have already had occaſion to notice, was followed by the moſt important conſequences. Charles XII. who had ſo long been the terror of Europe, was obliged to take ſhelter in the Turkiſh dominions, where he continued a fugitive, while his former rival, the Ruſſian monarch, victorious on every ſide, reſtored Auguſtus to the throne of Poland; depoſed Staniſlaus, expelled the Swedes, and made himſelf maſter of Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia [1].

The circumſtances attending theſe conqueſts are too little intereſting to merit a particular detail. I ſhall therefore paſs them over, and proceed to the in-

1. Voltaire, *Hiſt. of Ruſſia*, chap. xix.

trigues

trigues of Charles and Poniatowſki at the Ottoman court, which gave birth to more ſtriking events. I cannot help, however, here obſerving, that the king of Denmark, having declared war againſt Sweden, ſoon after the defeat of the Swediſh monarch at Pultowa, in hopes of profiting by the misfortunes of that prince, and invaded Scania or Schonen, his army was defeated with great ſlaughter, near Elſinburg, by the Swediſh militia, and a few regiments of veterans, under general Steenbock. LETTER XXV. A. D. 1710. March 10.

CHARLES XII. was ſo much delighted with the news of this victory, and enraged at the enemies that had riſen up againſt him in his abſence, that he could not forbear exclaiming on the occaſion, "My brave "Swedes! ſhould it pleaſe God that I once more "join you, we will beat them all!" He had then, indeed, a near proſpect of being able to return to his capital as a conqueror, and to take ſevere vengeance on his numerous enemies.

IT is a maxim of the Turkiſh government, to conſider as ſacred the perſon of ſuch unfortunate princes as take refuge in the dominions of the Grand Seignior, and to ſupply them liberally with the conveniencies of life, according to their rank, while within the limits of the Ottoman empire. Agreeable to this generous maxim, the king of Sweden was honourably conducted to Bender; and ſaluted on his arrival, with a general diſcharge of the artillery. As he did not chuſe to lodge within the town, the ſeraſkier, or governor of the province, cauſed a magnificent tent to be erected for him on the banks of the Nieſter. Tents were alſo erected for his principal attendants; and theſe tents were afterward transformed

PART II. A.D. 1710.

into houses: so that the camp of the unfortunate monarch became insensibly a considerable village. Great numbers of strangers resorted to Bender to see him. The Turks and neighbouring Greeks came thither in crowds. All respected and admired him. His inflexible resolution to abstain from wine, and his regularity in assisting publicly twice a-day at divine service, made the Mahometans say he was a true Mussulman, and inspired them with an ardent desire of marching under him to the conquest of Russia[2].

THAT idea still occupied the mind of Charles. Though a fugitive among Infidels, and utterly destitute of resources, he was not without hopes of yet being able to dethrone the czar. With this view, his envoy at the court of Constantinople delivered memorials to the Grand Vizier; and his friend Poniatowski, who was always dressed in the Turkish habit, and had free access every where, supported these solicitations by his intrigues. Achmet III. the reigning Sultan, presented Poniatowsky with a purse of a thousand ducats, and the Grand Vizier said to him, "I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in "the other, and conduct him to Moscow at the head "of two hundred thousand men[3]." But the czar's money soon changed the sentiments of the Turkish minister. The military chest, which Peter had taken at Pultowa, furnished him with new arms to wound the vanquished Charles, whose blood-earned treasures were turned against himself. All thoughts of a war with Russia were laid aside at the Porte.

THE king of Sweden, however, though thus discomfited in his negociations, by means of the czar's

2. *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. v. 3. Id. ibid.

gold,

gold, as he had been in the field by the army of that prince, was not in the leaft dejected. Convinced that the Sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of the Grand Vizier, he refolved to acquaint him with the corruption of his minifter. And Poniatowfky undertook the execution of this hazardous bufinefs.

THE Grand Seignior goes every Friday to the mofque, or Mahometan temple, furrounded by his Solaks; a kind of guards, whofe turbans are adorned with fuch high feathers as to conceal the fultan from the view of the people. When any one has a petition to prefent, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the paper aloft. Sometimes the Sultan condefcends to receive the petition himfelf; but he more commonly orders an Aga to take charge of it, and caufes it to be laid before him on his return from the mofque. Poniatowfky had no other method of conveying the king of Sweden's complaint to Achmet.

SOME days after receiving the petition, which had been tranflated into the Turkifh language, the Sultan fent a polite letter to Charles, accompanied with a prefent of twenty-five Arabian horfes; one of which, having carried his Sublime Highnefs, was covered with a faddle ornamented with precious ftones, and furnifhed with ftirrups of maffy gold. But he declined taking any ftep to the difadvantage of his minifter, whofe conduct he feemed to approve. The ruin of the Grand Vizir, however, was at hand. Through the intrigues of Poniatowfky, he was banifhed to Kaffa in Crim Tartary; and the bull, or feal of the empire, was given to Numan Kupruli, grandfon to the great Kupruli, who took Candia from the Venetians.

THIS

PART II. A.D. 1710.

THIS new minister, who was a man of incorruptible integrity, could not bear the thoughts of a war against Russia, which he considered as alike unnecessary and unjust. But the same attachment to justice, which made him averse from making war upon the Russians, contrary to the faith of treaties, induced him to observe the rights of hospitality toward the king of Sweden, and even to enlarge the generosity of the Sultan to that unfortunate prince. He sent Charles eight hundred purses, every purse containing five hundred crowns, and advised him to return peaceably to his own dominions; either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in some of the French vessels which then lay in the harbour of Constantinople, and on board of which the French ambassador offered to convey him to Marseilles.

BUT the haughty and inflexible Swede, who still believed he should be able to engage the Turks in his project of dethroning the czar, obstinately rejected this, and every other proposal, for his quiet return to his own dominions. He was constantly employed in magnifying the power of his former rival, whom he had long affected to despise; and his emissaries took care, at the same time, to insinuate that Peter was ambitious to make himself master of the Black Sea, to subdue the Cossacks, and to carry his arms into Crim Tartary[4]. But the force of these insinuations, which sometimes alarmed the Porte, was generally broken by the more powerful arguments of the Russian ministers.

4. Voltaire, ubi sup. These particulars this lively author had partly from Poniatowsky himself, and partly from M. de Feriol, the French ambassador at the Porte.

WHILE

LETTER XXV.

A. D. 1710.

WHILE the obftinacy of the king of Sweden, in refufing to return to his own dominions, in any other character than that of a conqueror, made his fate thus depend upon the caprice of viziers; while he was alternately receiving favours and affronts from the great enemy of Chriftianity, himfelf a devout Chriftian; prefenting petitions to the Grand Turk, and fubfifting upon his bounty in a defert, the Ruffian monarch was exhibiting to his people a fpectacle not unworthy of the ancient Romans, when Rome was in her glory. In order to infpire his fubjects with a tafte for magnificence, and to imprefs them with an awful refpect for his power, he made his public entry into Mofcow (after reinftating Auguftus in the throne of Poland) under feven triumphal arches, erected in the ftreets, and adorned with every thing that the climate could produce, or a thriving commerce furnifh. Firft in proceffion marched a regiment of guards, followed by the artillery taken from the Swedes; each piece of which was drawn by eight horfes, covered with fcarlet houfings, hanging down to the ground. Next came the kettle-drums, colours, and ftandards, won from the fame enemy, carried by the officers and foldiers who had captured them. Thefe trophies were followed by the fineft troops of the czar; and, after they had filed off, the litter in which Charles XII. was carried at the battle of Pultowa, all fhattered with cannon fhot, appeared in a chariot made on purpofe to difplay it. Behind the litter marched all the Swedifh prifoners, two and two; among whom was count Piper the king of Sweden's prime minifter, the famous marefchal Renfchild, the count de Lewenhaupt, the generals Slipenbach, Stackelberg, and Hamilton, with many inferior officers, who were afterward difperfed through Great Ruffia.

PART II. A. D. 1710.

Russia. Last in procession came the triumphant conqueror, mounted on the same horse which he rode at the battle of Pultowa, and followed by the generals who had a share in the victory: the whole being closed with a vast number of waggons, loaded with the Swedish military stores, and preceded by a regiment of Russian guards [5].

THIS magnificent spectacle, which augmented the veneration of the Muscovites for the person of Peter, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes, than all his military atchievements and civil institutions, furnished Charles with new arguments for awakening the jealousy of the Porte. The Grand Vizier Kupruli, who had zealously opposed all the designs of the king of Sweden, was dismissed from his office, after having filled it only two months, and the seal of the empire was given to Baltagi Mahomet, basha of Syria. Baltagi, on his arrival at Constantinople, found the interest of the Swedish monarch prevailing in the seraglio. The Sultana Walide, mother of the reigning emperor; Ali Kumurgi, his favourite; the Kislar Aga, chief of the Black Eunuchs; and the Aga of the Janizaries, were all for a war against Russia. Achmet himself was fixed in the same resolution. And he gave orders to the Grand Vizier to attack the dominions of the czar with two hundred thousand men. Baltagi was no warrior, but he prepared to obey [6].

THE first violent step of the Ottoman court was the arresting of the Russian ambassador, and commit-

Nov. 29. ting him to the castle of the Seven Towers. It is the

5. Voltaire's *Hist. of Russia*, chap. xix. *Hist. Charles XII.* liv. v.
6. Id. ibid.

custom

custom of the Turks to begin hostilities with imprisoning the ministers of those princes against whom they intend to declare war, instead of ordering them to leave the dominions of the Porte. This barbarous custom, at which even savages would blush, they pretend to vindicate, on a supposition that they never undertake any but just wars; and that they have a right to punish the ambassadors of the princes with whom they are at enmity, as accomplices in the treachery of their masters.

But the true origin of so detestable a practice seems to be, the ancient and hereditary hatred and contempt of the Turks for the Christian powers, which they take every occasion to shew[7]; and the meanness of the latter, who from motives of interest, and jealousy of each other, continually support a number of ambassadors, considered as little better than spies, at the court of Constantinople, while the Grand Seignior is too proud to send an ambassador to any court in Christendom. It is a disrespect to the Christian name, and the office of resident, that betrays the honest Mussulman into this flagrant breach of the law of nations; a law which his prejudices induce him to think ought only to be observed toward the faithful, or those eastern nations, who, though not Mahometans, equal the Turks in stateliness of manners, and decline sending any ambassadors among

7. The insults to which Christian traders in Turkey are exposed, even at this day, are too horrid to be mentioned, and such as the inordinate love of gold only could induce any man of spirit to submit, however small his veneration for the religion of the cross. Consuls and ambassadors, though vested with a public character, and more immediately intitled to protection, are not altogether exempted from such insults.

them,

PART II. A. D. 1710.

them, except on extraordinary occaſions. In conſequence of theſe prejudices, or whatever may have given riſe to the practice, the Ruſſian ambaſſador was impriſoned, as a prelude to a declaration of war againſt his maſter.

The Czar was not of a complexion tamely to ſuffer ſuch an injury: and his power ſeemed to render ſubmiſſion unneceſſary. As ſoon as informed of the haughty inſult, he ordered his forces in Poland to march toward Moldavia; withdrew his troops from Livonia, and made every preparation for war, and for opening with vigour the campaign on the frontiers of Turkey. Nor were the Turks negligent in taking meaſures for oppoſing, and even humbling him. The Kan of Crim Tartary was ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs with forty thouſand men, and the troops of the Porte were collected from all quarters.

Gained over, by preſents and promiſes, to the intereſts of the king of Sweden, the Kan at firſt obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the Turkiſh forces near Bender, and even under the eye of Charles, in order more effectually to convince him, that the war was undertaken ſolely on his account. But Baltagi Mahomet, the Grand Vizier, who lay under no ſuch obligations, did not chuſe to flatter a foreign prince ſo highly at the expence of truth. He was ſenſible, that the jealouſy of the Sultan at the neighbourhood of ſo powerful a prince as Peter; at his fortifying Azoph; and at the number of his ſhips on the Black Sea and the Palus Mæotis, were the real cauſes of the war againſt Ruſſia. He therefore changed the place of rendezvous. The army of the

Porte

Porte was ordered to aſſemble in the extenſive and fertile plains of Adrianople, where the Turks uſually muſter their forces when they are going to make war upon the Chriſtians. There the troops that arrive from Aſia and Africa, are commonly allowed to repoſe themſelves for a few weeks, and to recruit their ſtrength before they enter upon action. But Baltagi, in order to anticipate the preparations of the czar, began his march toward the Danube, within three days after reviewing his forces.

LETTER XXV. A.D. 1710. A.D. 1711.

Peter had already taken the field at the head of a formidable army, which he muſtered on the frontiers of Poland, and planned his route through Moldavia and Walachia; the country of the ancient Daci, but now inhabited by Greek Chriſtians, who are tributary to the Grand Seignior. Moldavia was at that time governed by Demetrius Cantemir; a prince of Grecian extraction, and who united in his character the accompliſhments of the ancient Greeks, the uſe of arms, and the knowledge of letters. This prince fondly imagined that the conqueror of Charles XII. would eaſily triumph over the Grand Vizier, Baltagi, who had never made a campaign, and who had choſen for his Kiaia, or lieutenant general, the ſuperintendant of the cuſtoms at Conſtantinople. He accordingly reſolved to join the czar, and made no doubt but all his ſubjects would readily follow his example, as the Greek patriarch encouraged him in his revolt. Having concluded a ſecret treaty with prince Cantemir, and received him into his army, Peter thus encouraged, advanced farther into the country. He paſſed the Nieſter, and reached at length the northern banks of the Pruth, near Jaſſi the capital of Moldavia [8].

8. Voltaire's *Hiſt. Ruſſian Emp.* part ii. chap. i. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. v.

BUT

PART II. A.D. 1711.

But the Ruffian monarch, by confiding in the promifes of the Moldavian prince, foon found himfelf in as perilous a fituation, on the banks of the Pruth, as that of his rival, the king of Sweden at Pultowa, in confequence of relying on the friendfhip of Mazeppa. The Moldavians, happy under the Turkifh government, which is feldom fatal to any but the grandees, and affects great lenity toward its tributary provinces, refufed to follow the ftandard of Cantemir, or to fupply the Ruffians with provifions. Meanwhile the Grand Vizier, having paffed the Pruth, advanced againft the czar with an army of two hundred and fifty thoufand men, and in a manner encompaffed the enemy. He formed an entrenched camp before them, the river Pruth running behind; and forty thoufand Tartars were continually harraffing them, on the right and left.

As foon as Poniatowfky, who was in the Ottoman camp, faw an engagement was become inevitable, he fent an exprefs to the king of Sweden; who, although he had refufed to join the Turkifh army, becaufe he was not permitted to command it, immediately left Bender, anticipating the pleafure of beholding the ruin of the czar. In order to avoid that ruin, Peter decamped under favour of the night; but his defign being difcovered, the Turks attacked his rear by break of day, and threw his army into fome confufion. The Ruffians, however, having rallied behind their baggage-waggons, made fo ftrong and regular a fire upon the enemy, that it was judged impracticable to diflodge them, after two terrible attacks, in which the Turks loft a great number of men. In order to avoid the hazard of a third attempt, the Grand Vizier determined to reduce the

czar

czar and his exhaufted army by famine. This was the moft prudent meafure he could have adopted. The Ruffians were not only deftitute of forage and provifions, but even of the means of quenching their thirft. Notwithftanding their vicinity to the river Pruth, they were in great want of water; a body of Turks, on the oppofite bank, guarding, by a continual difcharge of artillery, that precious neceffary of life.

In this defperate extremity, when the lofs of his army feemed the leaft evil that could befal him, the czar, on the approach of night, retired to his tent, in violent agitation of mind; giving pofitive orders that no perfon whatfoever fhould be admitted to difturb his privacy—to behold his exquifite diftrefs, or fhake a great refolution he had taken of attempting, next morning, to force his way through the enemy with fixed bayonets. The czarina, Catharine, a Livonian captive of low condition whom he had raifed to the throne, and who accompanied him in this expedition, boldly expofing her perfon to every danger, thought proper to break through thofe orders. She ventured, for once, to difobey; but not from a womanifh weaknefs. Catharine's mind alone rode out that ftorm of defpair, in which the profpect of unavoidable death or flavery had funk the whole camp. Entering the melancholy abode of her hufband, and throwing herfelf at his feet, fhe entreated the czar to permit her to offer, in his name, propofals of peace, to the Grand Vizier. Peter, after fome hefitation, confented. He figned a letter which fhe prefented to him; and the czarina having made choice of an officer, on whofe fidelity and talents fhe could depend; accompanied her fuit with a prefent, according to the cuftom of the Eaft.

PART II. A.D. 1711. "LET the czar ſend to me his prime miniſter!" ſaid Baltagi, with the haughty air of a conqueror; "and I ſhall then conſider what is to be done." The vice-chancellor, Shaffiroff, immediately repaired to the Turkiſh camp, and a negociation took place. The Grand Vizier at firſt demanded, that Peter, with his whole army, ſhould ſurrender priſoners of war. The vice-chancellor replied, That the Ruſſians would periſh to a man, ſooner than ſubmit to ſuch diſhonourable conditions; that his maſter's reſolution was already taken: he was determined to open a paſſage with the point of the bayonet. Baltagi, though little ſkilled in military affairs, was ſenſible of the danger of driving to deſpair a body of thirty-five thouſand brave and diſciplined troops, headed by a gallant prince. He granted a ſuſpenſion of arms for
July 21. ſix hours. And before the expiration of that term, it was agreed by the Ruſſian miniſter, That the czar ſhould reſtore the city of Azoph, deſtroy the harbour of Tangarok, and demoliſh the forts built on the Palus Mæotis or ſea of Zebach; withdraw his troops from Poland, give no farther diſturbance to the Coſſacks, and permit the Swediſh monarch to return into his own kingdom[9].

ON theſe conditions, Peter was allowed to retire with his army. The Turks ſupplied him with proviſions; ſo that he had plenty of every thing in his camp, only two hours after ſigning the treaty. He did not, however, a moment delay his retreat, aware of the danger of intervening accidents. And juſt as he was marching off, with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived impatient for the

9. Id. ibid

A. D. 1711.

fight, and happy in the thought of having his enemy in his power. Poniatowſky met him with a dejected countenance, and informed him of the peace. Inflamed with reſentment, Charles flew to the tent of the Grand Vizier, and keenly reproached him with the treaty he had concluded. "I have a right," ſaid Baltagi, with a calm aſpect, "to make either "peace or war. And our law commands us to grant "peace to our enemies, when they implore our "clemency."—"And does it command you," ſubjoined Charles, in a haughty tone, "to ſtay the ope-"rations of war, by an unmeaning treaty, when you "might impoſe the law of the conqueror? Did not "fortune afford you an opportunity of leading the "czar in chains to Conſtantinople!" The Grand Vizier, thus preſſed, replied with an imperious frown, "And who would have governed his empire in his "abſence? It is not proper that all crowned heads "ſhould leave their dominions!" Charles made anſwer only by a ſarcaſtic ſmile. Swelling with indignation, he threw himſelf upon a ſopha, and darting on all around him a look of diſdain, he ſtretched out his leg, and entangling his ſpur in Baltagi's robe, purpoſely tore it. The Grand Vizier took no notice of this ſplenetic inſult, which he ſeemed to conſider as an accident; and the king of Sweden, farther mortified by that magnanimous neglect, ſprung up, mounted his horſe, and returned with a ſorrowful heart to Bender [10].

Baltagi Mahomet, however, was ſoon made ſenſible of his error, in not paying more regard to the claims of Charles XII. For although the Grand Seig-

10. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. v. Voltaire had all theſe particulars from Poniatowſky, who was preſent at this interview.

PART II. A.D. 1711. nior was so well pleased with the treaty concluded with the czar, when the news first reached Constantinople, that he ordered public rejoicings to be held for a whole week, Poniatowski and the other agents of Charles soon found means to persuade him, that his interests had been betrayed. The Grand Vizier was disgraced. But the minister who succeeded Baltagi in that high office was yet less disposed to favour the views of the king of Sweden. His liberal allowance of five hundred crowns a day, beside a profusion of every thing necessary for his table, was withdrawn, in consequence of his intrigues. All his attempts to kindle a new war between the Turks and Russians proved ineffectual; and the Divan, wearied out with his perpetual importunites, came to a resolution to send him back, not with a numerous army, as a king whose cause the Sultan meant to abet, but as a troublesome fugitive whom he wanted to dismiss, attended by a sufficient guard.

A. D. 1712. April 19. To that purport Achmet III. sent Charles a letter; in which, after styling him the *most powerful among the kings who worship Jesus, brilliant in majesty, and a lover of honour and glory*, he very positively requires his departure. "Though we had proposed," says the Sultan, "to march our victorious army once more against the "czar, we have found reason to change our resolu-"tion. In order to avoid the just resentment which "we had expressed at his delaying to execute the "treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and af-"terward renewed at our sublime Porte, that prince "has surrendered into our hands the castle and city "of Azoph; and endeavoured, through the media-"tion of the ambassadors of England and Holland, "our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with

"us,

A.D. 1712.

"us. We have therefore granted his requeſt, and de-
"livered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us
"as hoſtages, our imperial ratification, having firſt
"received his from their hands. You muſt, therefore,
"prepare to ſet out, under the protection of Provi-
"dence, and with an honourable guard, on purpoſe to
"return to your own dominions, taking care to paſs
"through thoſe of Poland in a peaceable manner[11]."

ALTHOUGH this letter is ſufficiently explicit, it did not extinguiſh the hopes of the king of Sweden. He ſtill flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to involve the Porte in a new war with Ruſſia: and he had almoſt accompliſhed his aim. He diſcovered that the czar had not yet withdrawn his troops from Poland. He made the ſultan acquainted with that circumſtance. The grand vizier was diſgraced, for neglecting to enforce the execution of ſo material an article in the late treaty; and the Ruſſian ambaſſador was again committed to the caſtle of the Seven Towers. This ſtorm, however, was ſoon diſſipated. The czar's plenipotentiaries, who had not yet left the Porte, engaged that their maſter ſhould withdraw his troops from Poland. The treaty of peace was renewed; and the king of Sweden was given to underſtand that he muſt immediately prepare for his departure.

WHEN the order of the Porte was communicated to Charles, by the baſhaw of Bender, he replied, that he could not ſet out on his journey until he had received money to pay his debts. The baſhaw aſked, how much would be neceſſary. The king, at a venture, ſaid a thouſand purſes. The baſhaw acquainted

11. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. vi.

PART II. A. D. 1712.

the Porte with this requeſt; and the ſultan, inſtead of a thouſand, granted twelve hundred purſes. "Our "imperial munificence," ſays he, in a letter to the baſhaw, "hath granted a thouſand purſes to the king "of Sweden, which ſhall be ſent to Bender, under "the care and conduct of the moſt illuſtrious Mehe- "met Baſhaw, to *remain* in your *cuſtody* until the *de- "parture* of the Swediſh monarch; and then be given "him, together with two hundred purſes more, as "mark of our imperial liberality, above what he de- "mands."

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſtrictneſs of theſe orders, Grothuſen, the king of Sweden's ſecretary, found means to get the money from the baſhaw before the departure of his maſter, under pretence of making the neceſſary preparations for his journey; and a few days after, in order to procure farther delay, Charles demanded another thouſand purſes. Confounded at this requeſt, the baſhaw ſtood for a moment ſpeechleſs, and was obſerved to drop a tear. "I ſhall loſe my head," ſaid he, "for having ob- "liged your majeſty!" and took his leave with a ſorrowful countenance. He wrote, however, to the Porte in his own vindication; proteſting that he did not deliver the twelve hundred purſes, but upon a ſolemn promiſe from the king of Sweden's miniſter, that his maſter would inſtantly depart.

THE baſhaw's excuſe was ſuſtained. The diſpleaſure of Achmet fell wholly upon Charles. Having convoked an extraordinary Divan, he ſpoke to the following purport, his eyes flaſhing with indignation: "I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden, except by "his defeat at Pultowa, and the requeſt he made to "me for an aſylum in my dominions. I have not, I

"believe,

A.D. 1712.

"believe, any need of his aſſiſtance, or any cauſe to "love or to fear him. Nevertheleſs, without being "influenced by any other motive than the hoſpitality "of a Muſſulman, directed by my natural genero- "ſity, which ſheds the dew of beneficence upon the "great as well as the ſmall, upon ſtrangers as well as "my own ſubjects, I have received, protected, and "maintained himſelf, his miniſters, officers, and ſol- "diers, according to the dignity of a king; and for "the ſpace of three years and an half, have never "with-held my hand from loading him with favours. "I have granted him a conſiderable guard to conduct "him back to his own kingdom. He aſked a thou- "ſand purſes to pay ſome debts, though I defray all "his expences: inſtead of a thouſand, I granted him "twelve hundred purſes; and having received theſe, "he yet refuſes to depart, until he ſhall obtain a "thouſand more, and a ſtronger guard, although that "already appointed is fully ſufficient. I therefore "aſk you, whether it will be a breach of the laws of "hoſpitality to ſend away this prince? and whether "foreign powers can reaſonably tax me with cruelty "and injuſtice, if I ſhould be under the neceſſity of "uſing force to compel him to depart[12]?"

A.D. 171

All the members of the Divan anſwered, That ſuch a conduct would be conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice. An order to that effect was accordingly ſent to the baſhaw of Bender, who immediately waited upon the king of Sweden, and made him acquainted with it. "Obey your maſter, if you dare!" ſaid Charles, "and leave my preſence inſtantly." The baſhaw did not need this inſult to animate him to his duty. He coolly prepared to execute the commands

12. Id ibid.

 of

PART II. A.D. 1713.

of his ſovereign; and Charles, in ſpite of the earneſt entreaties of his friends and ſervants, reſolved, with three hundred Swedes, to oppoſe an army of Turks and Tartars, having ordered regular entrenchments to be thrown up for that purpoſe. After ſome heſitation, occaſioned by the uncommon nature of the ſervice, the word of command was given. The Turks marched up to the Swediſh fortifications, the Tartars being already waiting for them, and the cannon began to play. The little camp was inſtantly forced, and the whole three hundred Swedes made priſoners.

Charles, who was then on horſeback, between the camp and his houſe, took refuge in the latter, attended by a few general officers and domeſtics. With theſe, he fired from the windows upon the Turks and Tartars; killed about two hundred of them, and bravely maintained his poſt, till the houſe was all in flames, and one half of the room fell in. In this extremity, a centinel, named Roſen, had the preſence of mind to obſerve, that the chancery houſe, which was only about fifty yards diſtant, had a ſtone roof, and was proof againſt fire; that they ought to ſally forth, take poſſeſſion of that houſe, and defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. "There is a true Swede!" cried Charles, ruſhing out, like a madman, at the head of a few deſperadoes. The Turks at firſt recoiled, from reſpect to the perſon of the king; but ſuddenly recollecting their orders, they ſurrounded the Swedes, and Charles was made priſoner together with all his attendants. Being in boots as uſual, he entangled himſelf with his ſpurs, and fell. A number of janizaries ſprung upon him. He threw his ſword up into the air, to ſave himſelf the mortification of ſurrendering it; and ſome of the janizaries taking hold of his legs,

and

and others of his arms, he was carried in that manner to the bafhaw's quarters [13].

THE bafhaw gave Charles his own apartment, and ordered him to be ferved as a king, but not without taking the precaution to plant a guard of janizaries at the chamber door. Next day he was conducted toward Adrianople, as a prifoner, in a chariot covered with fcarlet. On his way he was informed by the baron Fabricius, ambaffador from the duke of Holftein, that he was not the only Chriftian monarch that was a prifoner in the hands of the Turks; that his friend Staniflaus, having come to fhare his fortunes, had been taken into cuftody, and was only a few miles diftant, under a guard of foldiers, who were conducting him to Bender. "Run to him, my dear "Fabricius!" cried Charles;—"defire him never to "make peace with Auguftus, and affure him that our "affairs will foon take a more flattering turn." Fabricius haftened to execute his commiffion, attended by a janizary; having firft obtained leave from the bafhaw, who in perfon commanded the guard.

So entirely was the king of Sweden wedded to his own opinions, that although abandoned by all the world, ftript of great part of his dominions, a fugitive among the Turks, whofe liberality he had abufed, and now led captive, without knowing whither he was to be carried, he ftill reckoned on the favours of fortune, and hoped the Ottoman court would fend him home at the head of an hundred thoufand men!—This idea continued to occupy him during the whole time of his confinement. He was at firft committed to the caftle of Demirtafh, in the neighbourhood of

13. Voltaire, ubi fup.

Adrianople;

PART II.
A.D. 1713.

Adrianople; but afterward allowed to reside at Demotica, a little town about six leagues distant from that city, and near the famous river Hebrus, now called Merizza. There he renewed his intrigues; and a French adventurer, counterfeiting madness, had the boldness to present, in his name, a memorial to the Grand Seignior. In that memorial the imaginary wrongs of Charles were set forth in the strongest terms, and the ministers of the Porte accused of extorting from the Sultan an order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, as well as of the hospitality of a Mussulman—an order in itself utterly unworthy of a great emperor, to attack, with twenty thousand men, a sovereign who had none but his domestics to defend him, and who relied upon the sacred word of the sublime Achmet.

In consequence of this intrigue, as was supposed, a sudden change took place in the seraglio. The Mufti was deposed; the Khan of Tartary, who depends upon the Grand Seignior, was banished to Rhodes, and the bashaw of Bender confined in one of the islands of the Archipelago. One vizier was disgraced and another strangled. But these changes, in the ministry of the Porte, produced none in the condition of the king of Sweden, who still remained a prisoner at Demotica; and, lest the Turks should not pay him the respect due to his royal person, or oblige him to condescend to any thing beneath his dignity, he resolved to keep his bed, during his captivity, under pretence of sickness. This resolution he kept for ten months [14].

14. *Hist. Ch. XII.* liv. vii.

WHILE

WHILE the naturally active and indefatigable Charles, who held in contempt all effeminate indulgences, and had ſet even the elements themſelves at defiance, was waſting, from caprice, his time and his conſtitution in bed, or harraſſing his mind with fruitleſs intrigues, the northern princes, who had formerly trembled at his name, and whom he might ſtill, by a different conduct, have made tremble, were diſmembering his dominions. General Steenbock, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by driving the Danes out of Schonen, and defeating their beſt troops, with an inferior number of Swediſh militia, defended Pomerania, Bremen, and all his maſter's poſſeſſions in Germany, as long as poſſible. But he could not prevent the combined army of Danes and Saxons, from beſieging Stade; a place of great ſtrength and importance, ſituated on the banks of the Elbe, in the duchy of Bremen. The town was bombarded and reduced to aſhes, and the garriſon obliged to ſurrender, before Steenbock could come to their aſſiſtance.

THE Swediſh general however, with twelve thouſand men, purſued the enemy, though twice his number, and overtook them at a place called Gadeſbuſh, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in December 1712. He was ſeparated from them, when he firſt came in ſight, by a moraſs. The Danes and Saxons, who did not decline the combat, were ſo poſted as to have this moraſs in front, and a wood in the rear. They had the advantage of numbers and ſituation; yet Steenbock, notwithſtanding theſe adverſe circumſtances, paſſed the moraſs at the head of his troops, and began one of the moſt furious and bloody battles that ever happened between the rival nations of the North. After a deſperate conflict of three hours the Danes and Saxons

PART II. A.D. 1713. Saxons were totally routed, and driven off the field with great slaughter.

But Steenbock ſtained the honour of his victory, by burning the flouriſhing, though defenceleſs, town of Altena, belonging to the king of Denmark. In conſequence of that ſeverity, many thouſands of the inhabitants periſhed of hunger and cold. All Germany exclaimed againſt ſo ſhocking an inſult on humanity; and the miniſters of Poland and Denmark wrote to the Swediſh general, reproaching him with an act of cruelty committed without neceſſity, and which could not fail to awaken the vengeance of heaven and earth againſt him. The enlightened but unfeeling Goth replied, That he never ſhould have exerciſed ſuch rigour, had it not been with a view to teach the enemies of Sweden to reſpect the laws of nations, and not to make war, for the future, like barbarians. They had not only, he obſerved, laid waſte the beautiful province of Pomerania, but ſold near an hundred thouſand of its inhabitants to the Turks; and the torches which had laid Altena in aſhes, he affirmed, were no more than a juſt retaliation for the red-hot bullets, which had wrapt in flames the more valuable city of Stade [15].

Had the king of Sweden appeared in Pomerania, while his ſubjects carried on the war with ſuch implacable reſentment, and even with ſucceſs, againſt their numerous enemies, he might perhaps have retrieved his ruinous fortune. His troops, though ſo widely ſeparated from his perſon, were ſtill animated by his ſpirit. But the abſence of a prince is always prejudicial to his affairs, and more eſpecially prevents his generals from making a proper uſe of their victories.

15. Id. ibid.

Steenbock

Steenbock loſt, almoſt inſtantly, the fruits of his valour and conduct; which at a happier criſis, would have been permanent conqueſts. Though victorious, he could not prevent the junction of the Ruſſians, Danes, and Saxons, who obliged him to ſeek an aſylum for himſelf and his gallant army in Toningen, a fortreſs in the duchy of Holſtein. LETTER XXV. A. D. 1713.

THAT duchy was then ſubjected to the moſt cruel ravages of any part of the North. The young duke of Holſtein, nephew of Charles XII. and preſumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, was the natural enemy of the king of Denmark, who had endeavoured to ſtrip his father of his dominions, and to cruſh himſelf in the very cradle. The biſhop of Lubeck, one of his father's brothers, and adminiſtrator of the dominions of this unfortunate ward, now beheld himſelf in a very critical ſituation. His own territories were already exhauſted by continual contributions; the Swediſh army claimed his protection; and the forces of Ruſſia, Denmark, and Saxony, threatened the duchy of Holſtein with immediate deſolation. But that danger was ſeemingly removed by the addreſs of the famous baron de Goertz, who wholly governed the biſhop, and was the moſt artful and enterpriſing man of his time; endowed with a genius amazingly penetrating, and fruitful in every reſource.

GOERTZ had a private conference with general Steenbock, at which he promiſed to deliver up to him the Fortreſs of Toningen, without expoſing the biſhop-adminiſtrator, his maſter, to any inconveniency: and he gave, at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the king of Denmark, that he would defend the place to the utmoſt. The governor accordingly refuſed to

open

PART. II. A. D. 1713.

open the gates; but the Swedes were admitted partly within the walls, and partly under the cannon of the town, in consequence of a pretended order from the young duke, who was yet a minor. This indulgence however, procured by so much ingenious deceit, proved of little use to the brave Steenbock, who was soon obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war, together with his whole army [15].

The territories of Holstein now remained at the mercy of the incensed conquerors. The young duke became the object of the king of Denmark's vengeance, and was doomed to pay for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name. Finding his original project thus rendered abortive, the baron formed a scheme for establishing a neutrality in the Swedish provinces in Germany. With this view, he privately entered into a negociation, and at the same time, with the several princes, who had set up claims to any part of the territories of Charles XII. all which, the kingdom of Sweden excepted, were ready to become the property of those who wanted to share them. Night and day he continued passing from one province to another. He engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover, by way of sequestration, in order to prevent the Danes from taking possession of them for themselves; and he prevailed with the king of Prussia to accept, in conjunction with the duke of Holstein, of the sequestration of Stetin, which was in danger of falling a prey to the Russians [16]

15. *Hist. of the Russian Emp.* part ii. chap. iv. 16. Id ibid. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

In the mean time the czar was pushing his conquests in Finland. Having made a descent at Elsingford, the most southern part of that cold and barren region, he ordered a feigned attack to be made on one side of the harbour, while he landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He afterward made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast; defeated the Swedes near Tavestius, a post which commanded the Gulf of Bothnia; penetrated as far as Vaza, and reduced every fortress in the country. Nor were the conquests of Peter confined to the land. He gained a complete victory over the Swedes by sea, and made himself master of the isle of Oeland. A.D. 1713. A.D. 1714.

These successes, but more especially his naval victory, furnished the czar with a new occasion of triumph. He entered Petersburg, as he formerly had Moscow, in procession, under a magnificent arch, decorated with the insignia of his conquests. After that pompous ceremony, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, Peter delivered a speach worthy of the founder of a great empire. "Countrymen and "friends," said he, "is there one among you who "could have thought, twenty years ago, that he "should fight under me upon the Baltick, in ships "built by ourselves? or that we should establish "settlements in those countries now conquered by "our valour and perseverance?—Greece is said to "have been the birth-place of the arts and sciences. "They afterward took up their abode in Italy; "whence they have spread themselves, at different "times, over every part of Europe. It is at last "our turn to call them ours, if you will second my "designs,

PART II. A.D. 1714. "designs, by joining study to obedience. The arts "and sciences circulate through this globe, like "the blood in the human body; and perhaps they "may establish their empire among us, in their "return back to Greece, their native country. I "dare even venture to flatter myself, that we will "one day put the nations most highly civilized to "the blush, by our polished manners and illustrious "labours [17]".

DURING these important transactions, so fatal to the power and the glory of Sweden, Charles continued to keep his bed at Dometica. Meanwhile the regency of Stockholm, driven to dispair by the desperate situation of their affairs, and the absence of their sovereign, who seemed to have utterly abandoned his dominions, had come to a resolution no more to consult him in regard to their proceedings. And the senate went in a body to the princess Ulrica Eleonora, the king's sister, and entreated her to take the government into her own hands, until the return of her brother. She agreed to the proposal; but finding that their purpose was to force her to make peace with Russia and Denmark, a measure to which she knew her brother would never consent, on disadvantageous terms, she resigned the regency, and wrote a full and circumstantial account of the whole matter to the king.

ROUSED from his affected sickness, by what he considered as a treasonable attempt upon his authority, and now desparing of being able to make the Porte take arms in his favour, Charles signified to the Grand Vizier his desire of returning, through Germany, to

17. *Hist of the Russian Emp.* part II. chap. v.

his

A. D. 1714

his own dominions. The Turkiſh miniſter neglected nothing which might facilitate that event. In the mean time the king of Sweden, whoſe principles were perfectly deſpotic, wrote to the ſenate, that if they pretended to aſſume the reins of government, he would ſend them one of his boots, from which they ſhould receive their orders!—and all things being prepared for his departure, he ſet out with a convoy conſiſting of ſixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horſe.

On his approach to the frontiers of Germany, the Swediſh monarch had the ſatisfaction to learn, that the emperor had given orders he ſhould be received, in every part of the imperial dominions, with the reſpect due to his rank. But Charles had no inclination to bear the fatigue of ſo much pomp and ceremony. He therefore took leave of his Turkiſh convoy, as ſoon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of Tranſilvania; and aſſembling his attendants, deſired them to give themſelves no farther concern about him, but to proceed with all expedition to Stralſund in Pomerania. The king himſelf, in diſguiſe, attended only by two officers, arrived at that place, after making the tour of Germany. And, without conſidering the wretched ſtate of his affairs, he immediately diſpatched orders to his generals, to renew the war againſt all his enemies with freſh vigour [17]. Nov. 21.

The approach of winter, however, prevented any military operations being proſecuted until the ſpring.

17. *Hiſt. of Charles XII.* liv. vii. "Theſe particulars," ſays Voltaire, "which are ſo conſiſtent with the character of Charles XII. were "firſt communicated to me by M. Fabricius, and afterward confirmed "to me by count Croiſſy, ambaſſador from the regent of France to the "king of Sweden." Id ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1715.

Meanwhile the king of Sweden was employed in recruiting his armies; and in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt, he gave his only ſurviving ſiſter, Ulrica Eleonora, in marriage to Frederic prince of Heſſe Caſſel, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the imperial ſervice in the Low Countries, and was eſteemed a good general. But Charles, on the opening of the campaign, was ſurrounded by ſuch a multitude of enemies, that valour or conduct, without a greater force, could be of little ſervice. The German troops of the elector of Hanover, now king of Great Britain, together with thoſe of Denmark, inveſted the ſtrong town of Wiſmar, while the combined army of Pruſſians, Danes, and Saxons, marched toward Stralſund, to form the ſiege of that important place. The czar was at the ſame time in the Baltic, with twenty ſhips of war, and an hundred and fifty tranſports, carrying thirty thouſand men. He threatened a deſcent upon Sweden; and all that kingdom was in arms, expecting every moment an invaſion.

Stralsund, the ſtrongeſt place in Pomerania, is ſituated between the Baltic Sea and the lake of Franken, near the Straits of Gella. It is inacceſſible by land, unleſs by a narrow cauſeway, guarded by a citadel, and by other fortifications which were thought impregnable. It was defended by a body of twelve thouſand men, commanded by Charles XII. in perſon, and beſieged by the kings of Pruſſia and Denmark, aſſiſted by the gallant prince of Anhalt, with an army three times the number of the Swedes. The allies were animated by a love of glory and of conqueſt; the Swedes by deſpair, and the preſence of their warlike king. Unfortunately, however, for the latter, it was diſcovered that the ſea, which, on one ſide,

A. D. 1715.

fide, fecured the Swedifh entrenchments, was at times fordable.

In confequence of this difcovery, the Swedes were unexpectedly attacked at night. While one body of the befiegers advanced upon the caufeway that led to the citadel, another entered the ebbing tide, and penetrated by the fhore into the Swedifh camp, before their approach was fo much as fufpected. The Swedes thus furprifed, and affailed both in flank and rear, were incapable of refiftance. After a terrible flaughter, they were obliged to abandon their entrenchments; to evacuate the citatel, and take refuge in the town, againft which their own cannon were now pointed by the enemy, who henceforth pufhed the fiege with unremitting vigour [18].

In order to deprive the king of Sweden and his little army of all fuccours, or of even the poffibility of efcape, the allies had begun their operations with chafing the Swedifh fleet from the coafts of Pomerania, and taking poffeffion of the ifle of Ufedom, which made a gallant defence. They now refolved to make themfelves mafters of the ifle of Rugen, oppofite Stralfund, and which ferves as a bulwark to the place. Though fenfible of the importance of Rugen, and of the defigns of the enemy, Charles was not able to place in it a fufficient garrifon. Twenty thoufand men, under the prince of Anhalt, were landed in that ifland, without any lofs. The king of Sweden haftened to its relief, the fame day, with four thoufand choice troops.

Putting himfelf at the head of this fmall body, and obferving the moft profound filence, Charles ad- Nov 15.

18. *Hift. Ch. XII.* liv. viii. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1715.

vanced at midnight againſt the invaders. But he did not find them unprepared. The prince of Anhalt, aware what incredible things the unfortunate monarch was capable of attemping, had ordered a deep foſſe to be ſunk as ſoon as he landed, and fortified it with chevaux de frize. The king of Sweden, who marched on foot, ſword in hand, was not therefore a little ſurpriſed, when, plucking up ſome of the chevaux de frize, he diſcovered a ditch. He was not, however, diſconcerted. Having inſtantly formed his reſolution, he leaped into the foſſe, accompanied by the boldeſt of his men, and attempted to force the enemy's camp.

THE impetuoſity of the aſſault threw the Danes and Pruſſians at firſt into ſome confuſion. But the conteſt was unequal. After an attack of twenty minutes, the Swedes were repulſed, and obliged to repaſs the foſſe. The prince of Anhalt purſued them into the plain. There the battle was renewed with incredible fury, and victory obſtinately diſputed; until Charles had ſeen his ſecretary, Grothuſen, fall dead at his feet; the generals, Dardoff and Daring, killed in his ſight, and the greater part of his brave troops cut to pieces. He himſelf was wounded; and being put on horſeback by Poniatowſki, who had ſaved his life at Pultowa, and ſhared his miſfortunes in Turkey, he was obliged to make the beſt of his way to the ſea-coaſt, and abandon Rugen to its fate [19].

STRALSUND was now reduced to the laſt extremity. The beſiegers were arrived at the counterſcarpe, and had already begun to throw a gallery over

19. Id. ibid.

the

A. D. 1715.

the principal ditch. The bombs fell as thick as hail upon the houfes, and half the town was reduced to afhes. Charles, however, ftill preferved his firmnefs of mind. One day, as he was dictating fome letters, a bomb burfting in the neighbourhood of his apartment, his fecretary dropt his pen. "What is the "matter?" faid the king, with a degree of chagrin, as if afhamed that any one belonging to him fhould be capable of fear. "The bomb!" fighed the intimidated fcribe, unable to utter another word. "Write on!" cried Charles, with an air of indifference; "what relation has the bomb to the letter "that I am dictating?" But he was foon obliged to admit lefs heroic ideas. After two defperate attacks, during which the king of Sweden fought among his grenadiers, like a private man, the befiegers made themfelves mafters of the horn-work. The grand affault was every moment expected, and Charles was determined to fuftain it; but the danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, and being a fecond time made prifoner from his obftinacy, induced him to liften to the entreaties of his friends, and quit a place which he was no longer able to defend. He accordingly embarked in a fmall veffel, that was fortunately in the harbour; and, by favour of the night, paffing fafely through the Danifh fleet, reached one of his own fhips, which landed him in Sweden[20]. Stralfund furrendered next day. Dec. 27.

THE king of Sweden not chufing to vifit his capital in his prefent unfortunate circumftances, paffed the winter at Carelfcroon; from which he had fet out,

20. *Hift. Ch. XII.* liv. viii. *Mem de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1715. in a very different condition, about fifteen years before, animated with all the high hopes of a youthful hero, ready to give law to the North, and who flattered himself with nothing less than the conquest of the world. Those hopes ought now to have been moderated. But Charles had not yet learned to profit by adversity. And, unhappily for his subjects, he found, in his distress, a minister who encouraged his most extravagant projects, and even suggested new schemes of ambition. This was the baron de Goertz, whom I have already had occasion to mention, and who, from a congeniality of ideas, became the particular favourite of the king of Sweden, after his return to his own dominions. To such a king and such a minister, nothing seemed impossible. When all Europe expected that Sweden would be invaded, and even over-run by her numberless enemies, Charles passed over into Norway, and made himself master of Christiana. But the obstinate defence of the citadel of Frederickshall, the want of provisions, and the approach of a Danish army, obliged him to abandon his conquest.

A.D. 1716. March.

MEANWHILE Wismar, the only town that remained to Charles in the frontiers of Germany, had surrendered to the Danes and Prussians; who, jealous of the Russians, would not allow them so much as to be present at the siege. Of this jealousy, which alienated the czar's mind from the cause of the confederates, and perhaps prevented the ruin of Sweden, Goertz took advantage. He ventured to advise his master to purchase a peace from Russia at any price; intimating, that the forces of Charles and Peter, when united, would be able to strike terror into all Europe. Nor did he conceal the sacrifices necessary to be made, in order to procure such an union. He declared

clared that, difgufted as the czar was with his allies, there would be a neceffity of giving up to him many of the provinces to the eaft and north of the Baltic. And he entreated the king to confider, that, by relinquifhing thofe provinces, already in the poffeffion of Peter, and which he himfelf was in no condition to recover, he might lay the foundation of his future greatnefs[21]. Pleafed with this mighty project, without building upon it, Charles furnifhed his minifter with full power to treat with the czar, or any other prince with whom he fhould think proper to negociate. LETTER XXV. A.D. 1716.

Goertz accordingly, by himfelf or his agents, fecretly entered into negociations, which he conducted at the fame time, with the heads of the Englifh Jacobites, and with the courts of Peterfburg and Madrid. Alberoni, the Spanifh minifter, a man of the moft boundlefs ambition, and in genius not inferior to the northern ftatefman, had refolved to place the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain; and the duke of Ormond, whofe zeal knew no bounds, projected a marriage between that prince and Anna Petrowna, daughter of the czar. In confequence of thefe intrigues, count Gillemburg, the Swedifh ambaffador at the court of London, was taken into cuftody, and Goertz in Holland. They were fet at liberty, however, after an imprifonment of fix months, and Goertz renewed his negociations with the court of Ruffia. Peter proceeded cautioufly; but conferences were, at laft, appointed to be held in the ifland of Oeland. And every thing feemed to promife the conclufion of a treaty, which would probably have changed the face of affairs in Europe, A.D. 1717.

21. Id. ibid.

 when

PART II. A.D. 1717.

when an unexpected event, fortunately for the repose of mankind, rendered abortive all the labours of the baron de Goertz.

A.D. 1718. October

THIS was the death of the king of Sweden. Having undertaken a second expedition into Norway, instead of attempting to recover any of his fertile German provinces, he sat down before Frederickshall in the month of December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense, that the soldiers on duty frequently dropt down dead. In order to animate them, he exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the dangers of the siege; sleeping even in the open air, covered only with his cloak! One night, as he was viewing them carrying on their approaches by star-light, he was killed by an half pound ball, from a cannon loaded with grape shot. Though he expired, without a groan, the moment he received the blow, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that position, so truly characteristic of his mind[22]!

No prince perhaps ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few amiable qualities as Charles XII. of Sweden. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romanticly brave, but blind to consequences; profusely generous, without knowing how to oblige; temperate, without delicacy; and chaste, without acquiring the praise of continence, because he seems to have been insensible to the charms of the sex; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resent-

22. *Hist. Ch. XII.* liv. viii.

ments;

-ments; resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perseverance in enterprise, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic passion for glory, will ever command our admiration.

The death of Charles was considered as a signal for a general cessation of arms. The prince of Hesse, who commanded under the king, immediately raised the siege of Frederickshall, and led back the Swedes to their own country. Nor did the Danes attempt to molest them on their march [23].

The first act of the senate of Sweden, after being informed of the fate of their sovereign, was to order the baron de Goertz to be arrested; and a new crime was invented for his destruction. He was accused of having "*slanderously* misrepresented the "nation to the king!" He had at least encouraged the king in his ambitious projects, which had brought the nation to the verge of ruin. He had invented a number of oppressive taxes, in order to support those projects; and, when every other resource failed, he had advised his master, to give to copper money the value of silver! an expedient productive of more misery than all the former. In resentment of these injuries, Goertz, though found guilty of no legal crime, was condemned to

23. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii. This appearance of harmony has led to a general belief, that the king of Sweden fell a sacrifice to the sufferings of his own subjects, and the fears of his enemies. He is said to have been shot with a blunderbuss, by one of the officers of his army. But no proof of such treason hath ever been produced; nor have any circumstances been offered that can intitle it to historical credibility.

lose

PART II. A. D. 1718. lose his head, and executed at the foot of the common gallows [24].

The Swedes having thus gratified their vengeance, at the expence of the reputation of a king, whose memory they still adore, proceeded to the regulation of their government. By a free and voluntary choice, the states of the kingdom elected Ulrica Eleanora, sister of Charles XII. for their queen. But they obliged her by a solemn act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, that she might hold it entirely by the suffrage of the people; while she bound herself, by the most sacred oaths, never to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power. And sacrificing, soon after, the love of royalty to conjugal affection, she relinquished the crown to her husband, the prince of Hesse, who was chosen by the states, and mounted the throne on the same conditions with his royal consort.

A. D. 1719.

The new government was no sooner established than the Swedes turned their views toward peace. It was accordingly brought about by different treaties. One with the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, to whom the queen of Sweden agreed to cede the duchies of Bremen and Verden, in consideration of a million of rix-dollars; another with the king of Prussia, who restored Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and kept Stetin, with the isles of Usedom and Wollin; and a third with the king of Denmark, who retained part of the duchy of Sleswick, conquered from the duke of Holstein, and gave up Wismar, on condition that the fortifications should not be rebuilt [25]. The war with Russia still continued;

A. D. 1720.

24. *Hist. Ch. XII.* liv. viii.

25. *Contin.* Puffend. lib. vii.

tinued; but an Engliſh ſquadron being ſent to the aſſiſtance of Sweden, the czar thought proper to recall his fleet, after committing the moſt terrible depredations on the coaſts of that kingdom. New negociations were opened at Nyſtadt; where a treaty of peace was, at laſt, concluded between the hoſtile crowns, by which the czar was left in poſſeſſion of the provinces of Livonia, Eſtonia, and Ingria, with part of Carelia and part of Finland [26]. A. D. 1721.

PETER henceforth took the title of emperor, which was ſoon formally acknowledged by all the European powers. He had now reached the higheſt point of human greatneſs; but he was yet to receive an increaſe of glory. Perſia being at that time, as almoſt ever ſince, diſtracted by civil wars, he marched to the aſſiſtance of the lawful prince, Sha Thamas, (whoſe father had been murdered and his throne ſeized by an uſurper) every where carrying terror before him. And in return for this ſeaſonable ſupport, as well as to procure his future protection, the new Sophy put him in poſſeſſion of three provinces, bordering on the Caſpian Sea, which compoſed the greater part of the ancient kingdom of the Medes. A. D. 1722. A. D. 1723.

BUT although this extraordinary man deſerves much praiſe as a warrior, and was highly ſucceſsful as a conqueror, extending his dominions from the moſt ſouthern limits of the Caſpian, to the bottom of the Baltic Sea; though great in a military, he was ſtill greater in a civil capacity. As he had viſited England and Holland, in the early part of his reign, to acquire a knowledge of the uſeful arts, he made a

26. Treaty in Voltaire's *Hiſt. of the Ruſſian Emp.* vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1723.

journey into France, in 1717, in order to become acquainted with thofe which are more immediately connected with elegance. A number of ingenious artifts, in every branch, allured by the profpect of advantage, followed him from France, to fettle in Ruffia. And, on his return to Peterfburg, he eftablifhed a board of trade, compofed partly of natives and partly of foreigners, in order that juftice might be impartially adminiftered to all. One Frenchman began a manufactory of plate-glafs for mirrors; another fet up a loom, for working rich tapeftry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and a third fucceeded in the making of gold and filver lace: linen cloth was made at Mofcow, equal in finenefs to that of the Low Countries; and the filks of Perfia were manufactured at Peterfburg in as great perfection as at Ifpahan [27].

Nor was the attention of Peter, in a civil line, confined merely to arts and manufactures. He extended his views to all the departments of government, and to every beneficial improvement. A lieutenant-general of police, deftined to preferve order from one end of the empire to the other, was now appointed. In confequence of this falutary inftitution, the large towns were freed from the nuifance of public beggars; an uniformity of weights and meafures was eftablifhed, and provifion made for the education of youth. The fame wife policy regulated and new-modelled the courts of law, while it corrected the abufes in religion. The great canal, which joins the Cafpian Sea to the Baltic, by means of the Wolga, was finifhed; and engineers were fent to make the tour of the Ruffian empire, in order to furnifh exact charts of

27. Voltaire, *Hift. of the Ruffian Emp.* vol. ii.

it,

it, that mankind might be made acquainted with the immenfity of its extent.

But Peter, after all his noble inftitutions, and his liberal attempts to civilize his people, was himfelf no better than an enlightened barbarian. Inventive, bold, active, and indefatigable, he was formed for fucceeding in the moft difficult undertakings, and for conceiving the moft magnificent defigns; but unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of paffion, and a flave to his own arbitrary will, he was fhamefully prodigal of the lives of his fubjects, and never endeavoured to combine their eafe or happinefs with his glory and perfonal greatnefs. He feemed to confider them as made folely for his, not he for their aggrandifement. His favage ferocity and defpotic rigour turned itfelf even againft his own blood. Alexis, his only fon by his firft wife, having led an abandoned courfe of life, and difcovered an inclination to obftruct his favourite plan of civilization, he made him fign, in 1718, a folemn renunciation of his right to the crown. And left that deed fhould not prove fufficient to exclude the czarowitz from the fucceffion, he affembled an extraordinary court, confifting of the principal Ruffian nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though feemingly weak and diffolute prince, to fuffer death,—but without prefcribing the manner in which it fhould be inflicted[28]. The event, however, took place, and fuddenly.

Alexis was feized with ftrong convulfions, and expired foon after the dreadful fentence was announced to him; but whether in confequence of the agony

28. Voltaire, ubi fup.

occafioned

PART II. A.D. 1723.

occaſioned by ſuch alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain [29]. We only know, that Peter then had, by his beloved Catharine, an infant ſon, who bore his own name, and whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor; and as the birth of this ſon had probably accelerated the proſecution, and increaſed the ſeverity of the proceedings againſt Alexis, whom his father had before threatened to diſinherit, it is not impoſſible but the friends of Catharine might haſten the death of the ſame prince, in order to ſave the court from the odium of his public execution, and the emperor from the excruciating reflexions that muſt have followed ſuch an awful tranſaction.

A GENTLEMAN, however, who was preſent on the occaſion, ſtrongly inſinuates, that Alexis was taken off by a doſe of poiſon, adminiſtered by order of his father [30]. And a writer of high authority [31] affirms, that the czar, with his own hand, cut off the head of his ſon. But probability, as well as the general character of Peter, forbid us to credit ſuch narratives. After having taken the trouble of bringing to a public trial his diſobedient ſon, whom he could at a ſingle nod have got privately diſpatched; after endeavouring to vindicate his conduct to the world, in an elaborate declaration, explaining his motives for ſo doing, the czar was too wiſe to hazard the infamy of being reputed an aſſaſſin. And had puniſhment, whether public or private, been inflicted on the czarowitz, by authority, it would have been avowed. The great, the imperious, the

29. Voltaire has taken great pains to clear up this matter; yet, after all, he has left it doubtful. *Hiſt. Ruſſ.* part ii. chap. x.

30. See the *Memoirs* of Peter Henry Bruce, Eſq. publiſhed in 1782.

31. Lamberti.

inexorable

inexorable Peter, would have ſcorned to hide the rigour of his juſtice beneath the veil of an incidental diſtemper, or to fulfil the ſentence of the law by a preparation of poiſon under the name of medicine. He ſurely meant to put a period to the life of Alexis; but he was too magnanimous to execute as a cowardly murderer, what he could command as a ſovereign and a judge. The life of that prince having been declared forfeited, the emperor had only to let fall the ſuſpended blow. He had no new reproach to fear; all Europe being already acquainted with his purpoſe, and held in awful expectation of the event.

The principal crime of which the ill-fated Alexis was convicted (for he was queſtioned even as to his private thoughts) was that of having *wiſhed* for the death of his father!—If the eldeſt ſons of kings were ALL to be judged by this criterion, few palaces would be free from blood. Another atrocious crime was his having abſconded and taken ſhelter in the imperial dominions; "raiſing againſt us," ſays Peter, "his father "and his lord, numberleſs calumnies and falſe re-"ports, as if we did perſecute him, and that even his "life was not ſafe, if he continued with us [32]." That the fears of the czarowitz were well founded ſufficiently appeared, when drawn from this aſylum, on a promiſe of pardon, he was firſt compelled to relinquiſh his right to the ſucceſſion, and afterward condemned to ſuffer death.

It cannot be improper here to obſerve, That although Peter had long been diſſatisfied with the

32. *Czar's Declaration.*

conduct

PART II. A.D. 1723.

conduct of his son Alexis, he never threatened to disinherit him, until he had a near prospect of issue by Catharine; and, as his first letter to the czarowitz containing such threat, is only dated a few days before she was delivered of a son, it seems very questionable, whether it was written before or after that event. Then, indeed, he spoke out. "I am determined at "last," says he, "to signify to you my final pur-"pose; willing, however, to defer the execution of "it for a time, to see if you will reform. If not, know "that I am resolved to deprive you of the succession, "as I would lop off an useless branch."—"We "cannot in conscience," adds Peter in his Declaration, "leave him after us the succession to the throne of "Russia; foreseeing that, by his vicious courses, he "would entirely *destroy* the *glory* of our *nation*, and the "*safety* of our *dominions*, which, through God's provi-"dence, we have *acquired* and *established* by *incessant ap-*"*plication*, causing our people to be *instructed* in all "sorts of *civil* and *military sciences*." This, if impartially true, might be a sufficient reason for disinheriting a son and heir of empire, but not surely for putting him to death. That measure could only be dictated by a tyrannical and jealous policy, in order to prevent his disturbing the government under the legal successor.

The death of the czarowitz, whatever might be its cause, was soon followed by that of young Peter; whom the emperor, on the renunciation of Alexis, had ordered his subjects, of all ranks and conditions, to acknowledge as lawful heir to the crown, "by oath "before the holy altar, upon the holy Gospels, kissing "the cross!" But Catharine continued nevertheless to maintain her ascendant over the violent tem-

per,

A. D. 1723.

per, and ungovernable ſpirit of her huſband. That aſcendant was truly extraordinary. One day, in the height of his paſſion, and in order to diſplay the omnipotence of his power, Peter broke a magnificent mirror." "See," ſaid he, "how with one ſtroke of "my hand I can, in a moment, reduce that glaſs to "its original duſt!"—"True," replied Catharine, "coolly, "you have deſtroyed the fineſt ornament of "your palace; but will the abſence of that ornament "improve the beauty of the imperial manſion?" The Czar's choler inſtantly ſubſided. The very ſound of her voice was ſufficient to calm his rage, when no other perſon durſt approach him.

A. D. 1724.

As a prelude to the eventual ſucceſſion of the Czarina, Peter himſelf, after his return from his Perſian expedition, aſſiſted perſonally at her ſolemn coronation. That ceremony, the meaning of which was well underſtood, added great weight to the already reſpectable character of Catharine; ſo that, on the death of the Emperor, in the beginning of the year 1725, ſhe quietly ſucceeded to the throne, and reigned in a manner becoming of the widow of Peter the Great [32].

The following lines, which are commonly quoted as part of the Czar's epitaph, form a panegyric not unworthy of him:

"Let Antiquity be dumb,
"Nor boaſt her ALEXANDER or her CÆSAR.
"How eaſy was victory
"To Leaders who were followed by Heroes!

32. I am ſenſible that a leſs favourable account of the latter years of Catharine has been given, by ſome late travellers; but the tongue of ſcandal is buſy in every country, and travellers are commonly moſt induſtrious in collecting defamatory anecdotes.

PART II. A.D. 1725.

"And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain
"At being thought less vigilant than their General?
"But HE,
"Who *in this Place first knew Rest*,
"Found Subjects base and inactive,
"Unwarlike, unlearned, untractable,
"Neither covetous of Fame nor fearless of Danger;
"Creatures under the Name of Men,
"But with Qualities rather brutal than rational!
"Yet even These
"He polished from their native Ruggedness;
"And breaking out, like a new Sun,
"To illuminate the Minds of a People,
"Dispelled their Night of Hereditary Darkness;
"And, by the Force of his invincible Influence,
"Taught them to conquer,
"Even the *Conquerors* of *Germany*.
"Other Princes have commanded victorious armies,
"PETER THE GREAT created them."

THIS panegyric would have been as just as it is elegant, had Peter not left the body of his people, as he found them, in a state of the most abject servitude to the nobles, who are themselves every moment at the mercy of the capricious will of the sovereign. These evils, which still in some measure remain, must be effectually eradicated, before the Russian empire can attain to any high degree of population, culture, or general civilization.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI ... TANJORE ... SARASWATI